

(D) COMMUNIST PARTY, USA - ORGANIZATIONAL AND MEMBERSHIP SURVEY -- Commencing February 1, 1960, and each year thereafter, each office will conduct a detailed and analytical survey of the organization and membership of the Communist Party in its territory. The results are to be forwarded to the Bureau by April 1 of each year. Detailed instructions in this regard will appear in appropriate manual changes in the near future.

10/27/59
SAC LETTER NO. 59-64

100-80638-1648

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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OCT 28 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

[Handwritten signature]

SAC, NEW YORK (100-133594) (#41)

10/28/59

SA [redacted] (#423)

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE
IS - C

Identity of Source [redacted] who has furnished reliable info in past (conceal)

Description of Info Written report concerning PSS class "Socialist Currents in the U.S. Today" held 10/20/59, at 80 East 11th Street, NYC

Date Received 10/23/59

Received By SA [redacted] (written)

Original Located [redacted] /82

A copy of informant's report follows:

[redacted]

- 1 - New York (100-123629) (WILLIAM ALBERTSON) (#416)
- 1 - New York (100-80638) (CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP) (#415)
- 1 - New York (100-) (STAN (LNU), WM, 5'10", 155, black hair, glasses, 19, beady features, round shouldered, attended PSS class 10/20/59, per NY 1897-S) (#412)
- 1 - New York (100-133594) (#41)

JHC:bhg
(5)

100-80638-1649

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OCT 28 1959
FBI - NEW YORK
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NY 100-133594

Wednesday
October 22, 1959

On Tuesday evening, October 20, 1959 a class was held at 80 East 11th Street under the auspices of the Faculty of Social Science. The title of the class was "Socialist Currents in the U.S. Today" and the instructor was WILLIAM ALBERTSON. This was the first class of eight classes to be held. The fee is seven dollars for the session and a fifty cent registration fee.

There were eight male students and two female students. The two female students were elderly and the majority of the male students were young - (college age).

The class started at 6:45 PM. BILL ALBERTSON then gave an introduction to the course. He explained the different facets of the Socialist movement in the United States. Of the topics mentioned to be covered in this course were

- (1) Status of American Socialist Movement
- (2) Issues which tend to unite or divide different socialist currents
- (3) Recent attempts of unification of Socialist Parties
- (4) How will the working class achieve power
- (5) How will working class maintain power once it is achieved
- (6) Analysis of some socialist organizations.

BILL ALBERTSON then went on to discuss the start of a program to unify socialist groups back in 1956. The door was let open when KRUSCHEV came out with revelations of Stalin and later with the Hungary incident which created a crisis in the Communist Party. This crisis was that of forming policy in leadership and opened the door for other socialist groups to try and unite with these various factions.

The next point taken up was that of issues which tend to unite or divide socialist currents. The Soviet Union seemed to be the main one. At this point the session was ended. The time was 8 pm.

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Noted in the class was a male, white, first name STAN, last name unknown, wears glasses, short black hair, 5 ft 10, 155 pounds, beady features, round shouldered, about 19 years old. Was acquainted with other young students and BILL ALBERTSON. ALBERTSON called STAN by his first name.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, SAN ANTONIO (100-7631)

DATE: 10/30/59

FROM : SA [redacted]

SUBJECT: CP - USA
SOUTHERN REGION
SAN ANTONIO DIVISION
ORGANIZATION
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On 10/19/59, [redacted] furnished the writer an oral report which was subsequently transcribed and thereafter acknowledged by informant on 10/22/59. This report is located in [redacted] and contains the following information:

On 10/18/59, a meeting of the State Committee of the Texas CP was held at the home of [redacted] Dallas, Texas. The following were present at the meeting:

- 1-100-7631
- 1-100-7232 [redacted]
- 1-100-9378 [redacted]
- 1-100-7260 (P&P)
- 1-100-7050 (Funds)
- 1-100-242-Sub 7 (Legislative Activities)
- 1-100-242-Sub 18 (Brief)
- 1-100-242-Sub 1 (Membership)

- 5-Dallas (RM)
 - (1-100- [redacted])
 - (1-100- (CP-USA))
 - (1-100- (CP-Funds))
 - (1-100- (CP Membership))
 - (1-100- (CP Factionalism))

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- 3-New York (RM)
 - (2-100- (CP, Southern Region))
 - (1-100- (JAMES JACKSON))
 - (1-100- (CP Negro Question))
 - (1-100- (CP Membership))

- 3-Houston (RM)
 - (1-100- (CP-USA))
 - (1-100- (A. C. L. U.))
 - (1-100- [redacted])

JMK/epk
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FBI - SAN ANTONIO

Wester
Just
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SA 100-7631

[redacted] - Chairman of State Committee

JOHN STANFORD - Executive Secretary of Texas CP

[redacted] - member, State Committee; from San Antonio

[redacted] - Assistant Treasurer, State Committee

[redacted] - member, State Committee; from Dallas

[redacted]

[redacted] arrived late. Prior to the beginning of the meeting, JOHN STANFORD sold communist literature to those present. The names of some of the publications were as follows:

P. 2

Political Affairs

German Question by HERBERT APTHEKER

This Is KHRUSHCHEV

Peiping Review

The Worker

The National Guardian

What is Marxism?

Monthly Review

[redacted] paid \$15.00 to JOHN STANFORD on the literature bill. However, he still owes on this and will liquidate his account at the next meeting.

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The agenda at this meeting was as follows:

1. Minutes of last State Meeting. [] commented that there was a poor attendance at the last State Committee Meeting. STANFORD, in his remarks, repeated this and commented that at the forthcoming State CP Convention the Convention should decide a system to get better attendance at the State Committee meetings. STANFORD also said that the different areas should report as to what actual contacts had been established with youth organizations. This report should be given at the forthcoming State Convention. STANFORD also said that at the Convention reports can be made on the draft resolution and the new general resolution, both of which are set out in Political Affairs. STANFORD commented that he and [] must compute a CP state mailing list of twenty and mail pamphlets entitled The German Question by HERBERT APTHEKER to those on the list. STANFORD commented that they will complete distribution of the APTHEKER pamphlets by the next State Meeting, a total of fifty.

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2. Area reports. For the Dallas area, it was reported that the City of Dallas has five fully paid up CP members, and the City of Fort Worth has three Negro CP members. [] announced these figures. It was further commented that LANDIN is active in the American G. I. Forum and also the Young Democrats, both in Dallas. [] was reported to be active in the American G. I. Forum.

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P. 4 [] and [] engaged in a heated argument dealing in the main with their activity in the American G. I. Forum. [] did not like the way [] had handled his activity in the Forum, and [] disagreed with him. [] commented that [] lied about his age so that he could get into the Young Democrats but did not succeed and LANDIN criticized him for this. [] was embarrassed and disappointed at the argument and, after a recess, [] and STANFORD made brief comments trying to rectify the situation. STANFORD said the reason for the disagreement was that there is not enough Party work going on in Dallas. He pointed out that both [] and [] belong

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to the same organization, the Forum, but that they should work in different organizations.

Regarding the San Antonio situation, STANFORD commented that he will compile an economic and political situation report pertaining to the State of Texas and its relationship to the work of the CP. [] suggested that STANFORD do this.

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- P.
5 STANFORD told of an attempt to pass a Fair Employment Practice ordinance regarding city employees in San Antonio and that this attempt failed.

- STANFORD also reported on his personal situation, remarking that he had been fired from his job in San Antonio. STANFORD plans to open a bookstore in San Antonio and will attempt to obtain the necessary money from his stepmother. He was not too hopeful of obtaining the money from her, but said that if that attempt failed, there was another possibility. While in New York recently, STANFORD had talked to JAMES JACKSON about the matter and has hopes that JACKSON may be able to obtain the necessary money for STANFORD to open a bookstore. JACKSON told him that this financial aid will not be obtained directly from the CP, but that JACKSON will talk to some people who will contribute to this sort of project but not directly to the Party. While JACKSON was in Mexico, he ascertained that a printing company named Taller-
P. Graficas; which is located there, needs an outlet in the
6 United States. According to STANFORD, this is a liberal company and STANFORD could handle their products in a bookstore in San Antonio. STANFORD further commented that if he opens a bookstore he will probably train for a month or so in another bookstore, possibly in New York City. This was suggested by JAMES JACKSON.

STANFORD made the comment that the State Committee should not become complacent about the proposed hearing of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, that such a hearing might yet be coming to Texas. He suggested that the members of the Committee write BEN LEVY, who represents the American Civil Liberties Union in Houston, Texas, for literature on such a hearing.

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3. Report on recent Southern Regional Committee meeting. JOHN STANFORD advised that recently he had been to a Southern Regional Committee meeting in New York. He P. said it was a two-day affair but that the full membership of the 7 Southern Regional Committee was not present. Only a small group attended. The purpose of this meeting was to discuss the Negro question and the South's affairs. STANFORD said the National Secretary of the CP attended this meeting. STANFORD said the reason this Southern Regional Committee meeting was called was due to the fact that much work in the South was done outside of the CP. JAMES JACKSON was criticized because he did not advise the Party on his work in the South. The Southern Regional Committee has a three-man commission on the Negro question.

At the Southern Regional Committee meeting there was a discussion of the forthcoming National Convention.

It was decided at the Southern Regional Committee meeting that the following three points be presented to the National Committee:

1. The South be assigned a working field organizer. According to STANFORD; this will probably be the same man who was supposed to be doing this job now.
- P. 8 2. The Southern Regional Committee will meet regularly from now. Texas is allowed two representatives on the Southern Regional Committee.
3. There is a resident committee which will work with the Southern Regional Committee.

JAMES JACKSON gave a report on the 21st Congress of the CP-USSR which he attended. He said there is a new fifteen-year plan in the USSR which is composed of two seven and one-half year plans. According to JACKSON, at the end of the fifteen-year plan all prerequisites for communism will

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be fulfilled. JACKSON explained that in ten years Russia will outstrip the United States in production per capita, and that, in fifteen years, Russia and its neighboring socialist countries will be completely communistic. These countries will be completely independent of the free world. According to JACKSON; one year after that, the United States will be forced to accept socialism in this country in order to survive economically. JACKSON commented that if war can be avoided for the next fifteen years, the United States will have socialism by 1976. JACKSON also said that at the present time Russia produces one-third of the world's goods, but, by 1965, they will produce one-half of these goods.

4. The forthcoming National Convention of the CP. JOHN STANFORD reported on the plans for this Convention. He said that this Convention will be held in New York on 12/10-13/59, and that the basis for representation at this Convention will be one delegate for every fifty CP members. However, the only CP members that can be counted are those who are current in their dues and have been registered in the Party from October 1958 to October 1959. In addition, they must have paid for their Southern Solidarity assessment and for their assessment to cover the expenses of the National Convention. This latter assessment consists of an extra two months dues. For every four representatives, there can be one alternate to the National Convention. These alternates and representatives must have the same qualifications as mentioned above, but for a two-year period extending from October 1957 to October 1959.

STANFORD said that on 11/15/59, there will be a Texas State Convention to be held in Dallas, Texas. STANFORD commented that he committed the State to this date while at the Southern Regional Committee meeting because an out-of-state man named CHARLES will attend the State Convention and could attend on that date. The delegates to the State Convention must be in proportion to each individual area membership; the state delegates must have the above-mentioned qualifications for a one-year period. The State Convention will elect

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new State officers for the CP and will also elect a delegate to the National Convention. According to STANFORD, since Texas has thirty-five registered members meeting the qualifications mentioned above, the State can send only one delegate to the National Convention. The election of State P. officers at the State Convention will be done by secret ballot 11 and these State officers will automatically be members of the State Executive Committee. However, the officers and also the members of the State Committee must meet the qualifications mentioned above for at least two years.

At the State Committee meeting, the group discussed the basis of representation from the various areas to the forthcoming State Convention. It was decided that there will be one and one-half delegates for every two members. The security problem arose during this discussion, and it was decided to keep new members at a minimum at the Convention.

STANFORD continued stating that the various CP clubs throughout the State of Texas will elect proportionate delegates to this State Convention and will also elect representatives for the new State Committee. These representatives, however, will be subject to the approval of the Convention.

P. STANFORD urged that there be much pre-convention 12 discussion on the general resolution and also on the draft resolution on the Negro question, both of which can be found in Political Affairs.

5 Finances. STANFORD reported that he had paid [redacted] the \$80.00 due her in fees as past treasurer of the Texas CP. It was decided at this State Meeting that a dues report be given for each area to the new treasurer who will be elected at the State Convention.

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During the meeting STANFORD commented that [redacted] [redacted] is coming to the South. STANFORD also commented that the National Secretary of the CP had said at the recent

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Southern Regional Committee meeting that the Party and mass work cannot exist one without the other.

STANFORD stated that San Antonio has five paid up members and will have three representatives at the State Convention.

(H) COMMUNIST PARTY, USA - MEMBERSHIP -- The Bureau has a fundamental responsibility to positively identify each and every individual who is currently a member of the Communist Party (CP). We have made some progress in this direction during the past year. However, there remains a large group of unidentified members in the various sections of the country.

While our ultimate goal has been and remains the penetration of all levels of the CP organization with live informant coverage, experience has shown that success in this field is dependent upon the judicious application of all available investigative techniques, coupled with meticulous planning, boldness and ingenuity.

The field offices for the most part have been quite successful in identifying the state or district CP leaders and the intensified coverage afforded these individuals has resulted in the obtaining of highly valuable information. The same degree of success, however, has not been realized in identifying and covering the activities of CP officials on the club and section level. It is quite apparent that to positively identify a substantial number of current CP members there must be a greater concentration of investigative effort having as a primary goal the identification of key section and club officers such as section organizers and financial officers and club chairmen. These officers can be expected to have under their control available financial and membership records which records while sketchy are of considerable assistance in identifying current CP members.

The following investigative steps have been successfully utilized in certain offices in the identification of current CP members:

1. Initiate a detailed study of live informant coverage on the section and club level.
2. If live informant coverage is weak or nonexistent, initiate investigation to identify the section organizational secretary or financial officer.
3. Through physical surveillances of section officers and other techniques, identify the representatives of individual CP clubs to section committees.
4. Through physical surveillances and other techniques, ascertain the meeting places of individual CP clubs.

11/3/59
SAC LETTER NO. 59-66

100-80638-1651

J. V. Hater

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FBI - NEW YORK	

J. V. Hater JWH
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5. Through surveillances of section and club officers, ascertain the location of pertinent records and utilize confidential techniques to secure such records.

In those instances where you are unable to identify a substantial majority of CP members within a section, the investigations on the key section officers should be retained in a pending status and intensified in line with the five steps set forth above. The Bureau should be advised under the individual case caption concerning those section officers who are selected for intensified investigation and appropriate communications should be submitted on a 45-day basis outlining the investigation conducted and the results achieved.

The above investigative steps are merely a guide and are not intended to be all-inclusive. The Bureau recognizes that in certain areas the CP is relatively unorganized and a different procedure will be necessary. It is believed, however, that through proper supervision and intelligent analysis of the problem existing in your territory, a marked improvement can be made in the identification of CP members. The Bureau intends to closely follow the progress made by each office in this regard.

11/3/59
SAC LETTER NO. 59-66

10/27/59

PLAIN

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-1-68)
 FROM: SAC, PORTLAND (100-8298)
 RE: CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP
 IS - C

CIVIL

While on his two-day visit to Portland, Oct. 23 and 24, 1959, GUS HALL, member of the HHC of the CP, spoke to students on the campus of Reed College, Portland. This appearance occurred at 4 p.m. and, according to [redacted] lasted until about 9:45 p.m. Much of this time was devoted to a question-and-answer period.

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At one point, HALL was asked directly as to the current membership of the CP in the United States. At first, he indicated that the figures were secret. He was pressed, however, and finally gave the figure of 15,000. He added the comment that with this figure he would not be "aying too much one way or another."

HALL went on to say that the CP, USA, had published cards and membership lists and that it was therefore difficult to estimate the Party membership.

ENCLOSURE

- 3-Division (RM)(AM)
- 1-Portland (RM)(AM)
- 1-New York (RM)(AM)
- 2-Portland (100-8298)
- (100-3550-Sub 11)
- (100-7307)

W.D.vjk
(8)

100-80638-1652
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 OCT 28 1959
 FBI - PORTLAND
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CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-1763) DATE: 10/28/59

FROM: SA [redacted]

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SUBJECT: SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT,
COMMUNIST PARTY (SCDCP).
IS - C

- cc: 1 - Cleveland (GUS HALL) - REGISTERED
- 1 - Buffalo (CP STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY) - REGISTERED
- 3 - San Francisco (MICKEY LIMA)(AL LANNON) - REGISTERED
(CP MEMBERSHIP)
- 2 - New York (HARRY HAYWOOD)(CP MEMBERSHIP) - REGISTERED

[redacted]

- 100-26044 (ORGANIZATION)
- 100-4486 (DOROTHY HEALEY)(SI)
- 100-29162 (GUS HALL)
- 100-26103 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-30439 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-55455 (MORANDA SMITH SECTION)
- 100-55504 (SAN BERNARDINO SECTION)
- 100-28300 [redacted]
- 100-55502 (BEVERLY-FAIRFAX SECTION)
- 100-26497 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-55708 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-55449 (BOYLE HEIGHTS SECTION)
- 100-53913 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-NEW (SIDNEY) - #1
- 100-27931 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-7518 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-4663 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-4963 (PETTIS PERRY)(SI)
- 100-52571 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-40053 (IRVING GOFF)(SI)
- 100-21884 [redacted] (I)
- 100-55448 (ZAPATA SECTION)
- 100-33476 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-29380 [redacted]
- 100-25184 (PROFESSIONAL - CULTURAL SECTION)
- 100-44901 [redacted] (SI)

- 100-55462 (COMPTON-WATTS SECTION)
- 100-56566 [redacted]
- 100-22612 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-25365 (CP STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)
- 100-26044 (ORGANIZATION)
- 100-27419 (MICKEY LIMA)
- 100-23933 (CP MEMBERSHIP)
- 100-515 (HARRY HAYWOOD)
- 100-23891 [redacted]
- 100-55460 (NEEDLES TRADES SECTION)
- 100-24351 (SECURITY MEASURES)
- 100-24766 [redacted] (SI)
- 10055461 (CENTINELA SECTION)

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MLP: lhm [signature]
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100-80638-1653

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LA 100-1763

SOURCE	ACTIVITY	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION
[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past and whose identity should be concealed.	10/9/59, Joint meeting, Resolution - Construction & Organizing Committee of SCDCP	10/19/59	writer	[redacted]

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This information was placed on a memo belt by the informant, which was furnished to the writer 10/19/59. It was transcribed 10/19/59 and documented by the informant in the presence of the writer 10/23/59. Informant's report is as follows:

"Los Angeles, California
October 19, 1959

"On Friday, October 9th, a meeting was held at the Hungarian and American Cultural Center, on St. Andrews Place in Los Angeles. This was a joint meeting of the Resolution Committee and the Committee on Organization, Constitution, and By-Laws, which is meeting in preparation for the District Convention of the Southern California Communist Party. Representatives from the various Sections of the Party were present to attend the individual meetings of these committees. However, DOROTHY HEALEY and other members of the District Board appeared with a proposal that instead a joint meeting be held, so that GUS HALL could discuss some of the organizational problems which are facing the party in this period. It was indicated that GUS HALL had attended the Mid-West Organization Conference, which had discussed many problems of party organization, held apparently last month, and also had reports from the East Coast Organizational Conference, which had been held earlier. It was further indicated that there was yet, no draft resolution on Party organization, and while this was a weakness, it was not necessarily a mistake, because from the Mid-Western Conference, from the Eastern Conference and from our ideas here this evening, there will be the basis of drafting a resolution on the problem of Party organization.

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"Present at the meeting were 23 individuals, most of them representatives of Sections in the Party. They were as follows:

"From Moranda Smith:

[REDACTED]

"From San Bernardino:

[REDACTED]

"From Beverly-Fairfax:

[REDACTED] who is on the Resolutions Committee.

[REDACTED] who is on the Constitution and Organization Committee.

"From Boyle Heights:

[REDACTED]

"From an unidentified Section:

"An individual named SIDNEY, who speaks with an apparent Greek accent and has spent some time in Tampa, Florida, before coming to California.

"From Needles:

[REDACTED]

"From the District Board:

[REDACTED]
DOROTHY HEALEY
BEN DOBBS
PETTIS PERRY

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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"With [redacted] was a young white girl, who was a representative of the Youth Section.

"From an unidentified Section:

[redacted]

"From Zapata:

[redacted]

"From Professional-Cultural:

[redacted]

"From Compton-Watts:

[redacted]

"From Centinella:

[redacted]

An elderly man about 5'4", with wildly disarrayed white hair was also present. His age, approximately 65-70, his weight approximately 110.

"DOROTHY HEALEY opened the meeting with an indication that the District Staff at its meeting that morning, had decided to recommend the present joint meeting to the committees when they arrived. It is important they feel, that discussion be open with regards to the organizational problems. We must understand that we are beginning to formulate general political lines for the first time in several years. That we are beginning to exert a force as a Party and the people are gravitating towards the Party. These developments require the solution of organizational problems, which are only now just becoming really important.

"DOROTHY HEALEY went on to state that we must remember that our basic organizational role is bringing Socialism to the United States. However, we should also

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"remember that our immediate present date problem must be solved in terms of our organizational structure as well.

"The problems of the workers, she said, must be reflected in our present method of organization. There are many concepts which demand our attention. The problem of the Party's vanguard role, the problem of how the Party functions independently, the problem of the role of working class clubs, all of these problems and concepts, she said must be related to the development of our mass policy. We have much unclarity on this aspect on the role of the Party. The Convention should contribute to clearing up, if not resolving this unclarity.

"GUS HALL then took the podium, pointing out the necessity for going back and analysing how for example, LENIN handled the fight on organizational questions after the defeat of the Party in 1905 in Russia. There was a long struggle in the face of tremendous pressures for legal operation and the party turned out at that time not just to be a propaganda machine, but capable of independently functioning in the face of tremendous pressures. The relations of the Party to the Unions and to the mass organizations in this period is paramount if we are to follow LENIN's lead on the fight for independent action as he exhibited it in 1905. We should also analyze HALL said, how the mass parties of France and Italy have been organized. It is true that objective conditions were right for the organization of these mass parties, but the rule of the 7th World Congress in developing a mass line, within which these parties could work, should not be overlooked. The outlook and the understanding which arose within the Party from sharp ideological struggle laid the ground work which made possible such tremendous growth as has been exhibited in France and Italy in the parties there. We must think in terms of the problems in structure, the methods of work of the Party, in terms of how we can carry out the Party's mass policy. If we analyze the Party's work during the present steel situation, we can have some example of what the situation is. HALL stated that our greatest influence in the unions today, is in the ranks of the steel workers. Even greater than in the automobile unions he said. We have, however, three kinds of party

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"organizations in steel. On the one hand we have the kind of organization that exists in Buffalo today, where the Party people work out policies for the strikers. But on the other hand our Party has no influence or connection amongst the strikers. Accordingly, the Party issues many independent leaflets, sells the Worker, etc., but it functions exclusively as a propoganda agency.

"On the other hand, we have what GUS HALL calls the Ohio type of organization. This is well organized work with a steel commission, where the attitude of the Party is expressed in the steel commission and is felt shortly thereafter by the union stewards, by the Union Presidents, and so forth. Not only with regard to economic questions, but also with regard to political issues. The contact between the Party organization is expressed in the steel commission and the leadership of the steel union as a very good contact. However, there is a great weakness, because most of the workers in steel, do not realize the important role that the Party plays. The relationship between the Party and Steel Union leadership] is good, but the Worker is not sold to the steel workers and leaflets are not distributed and so the independent face is not exhibited at all.

"A third type of organization would be one which combined both the approaches and influences to developing the course of the struggle. The correct Leninist view would insist upon presenting both the independent face of the party and work within the unions in helping the leaders of the unions to decide policy and so on.]

"Generally throughout the country, GUS HALL stated, the Party's Clubs are divided between those which do internal work and those which do external work. Now of course no one can be completely well rounded and certainly not everyone can be well rounded, but it is desirable that all of our Party Clubs make contributions at least in both areas of work. The role of the party must include both approaches.

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"The next point which GUS HALL took up, was that which dealt with the fact that our conditions of work today are very complicated. We must move carefully, because of the nature of the new era into which we are entering. We are not in a position to know how far the foreign policy will develop that is beginning today, or how far the internal domestic reaction in this country will develop which shows signs of growing. We should beware of moving prematurely and panicking. One of our complications at the present time, he said, is lack of confidence in our National leadership. This lack of confidence, he stated, probably is well needed in reality.

"One of the most complicated aspects of the work of the Party today, which pushes itself, HALL stated, is the question of illegal and legal moods of organization. We are and probably will remain largely a legal organization, HALL stated. However, it is necessary that the Party fight continually to preserve this status. However, we cannot ignore the illegal side of the problem, for example, the question of the anti-Communist clauses in the Taft-Hartley Act remain. Our main base as a Party organization must necessarily be in the Union Rank and File. This raises problems and it raises opportunities as well.]

["For example the work of a caucus where the leadership cannot be officially a member of the party is a serious problem. In addition to that, we have to recognize such things as the membership case, which is coming up before the Supreme Court. If the Supreme Court should take a position that the membership clause of the laws which are on the statutes now, is really a constitutional clause, this could completely illegalize Party membership in this country. Then there is the whole problem of the foreign registration act, which is the most reactionary law on the books today. This question also will come up in this next session of the Supreme Court, and it could lead to life imprisonment for failure to register as a foreign agent.

"Furthermore, any corporation of size will fire any known Communist Party member, and so will for that matter most of the unions. All of these problems must be reflected in our methods of organization, as well as our methods of work.

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LA 100-1763

"Finally, with respect to the point of methods of work in this complicated period, we must recognize that relationship between the main leadership of the party and the rank and file membership, is a very important problem.]

"The next point on which HALL focused his attention, was that of the Clubs. He stated that the Clubs are not now the center of Party life, but they must become such. Our Clubs discuss and issue leaflets, they support our papers, but this is not enough in these time when leadership is not exerted by pressure or by the development of action. The Clubs must learn to exercise more self initiative and must cease to be the lifeless shells without contents which they are in many cases today. To make the Party Club the center of Party life, the Club must have a well planned political prospect based upon its understanding of the relationship of forces, the area in which it is working, how the Club will change and bring about an increased level of understanding in that area where it is working. How, for example, have the Clubs handled the question of peace work? How did the Clubs treat the visit of KHRUSHCHEV? Do the Clubs show initiative in their work? Are we molding people in our Clubs or are we raising the understanding of the working class? What is our attitude towards developing better Marxist - Leninist.

"All of these questions must be answered during the course of this discussion period. We must involve the Party in this discussion. We must not expect to resolve these problems immediately however. With the conclusion of his formal talk, GUS HALL asked for questions as well as discussion. [redacted] asked whether any discussion had been held thus far with regard to strengthening the constitution concerning the necessity for action on the part of the Club members. This question was not directly answered however. [redacted] also asked what GUS HALL's understanding was of the status of the question of moving to Chicago. HALL stated that the question has been coming up again and that while he did not feel the move to Chicago was in any sense a cure for the Party's

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"problems, he was very much in favor of such a move and had been for many years. [redacted] indicated that many in the Southern California District are also in favor of such a move. A question was asked with regard to the problem of recruiting. HALL answered that the party is beginning to grow. For example, he indicated that MICKEY LIMA in San Francisco had told him that the Party up there had set a goal of recruiting 40 new members for the 40th Anniversary meeting of the Party. That it would meet this goal, and that many of the new members were young people.

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"The National Committee had previously set a goal of 200 new recruits, however, it now appeared that this goal was much too low. [redacted] asked a question about the possibility of setting up intermediary organizations of those who could support the Party and would be willing to contribute to the Party, but for reasons of loyalty oaths and so on, could not actually belong to the Party. She suggested that organizations other than study circles could be devised for such groups. HALL agreed that we must organize such movements wherever possible. A question was asked with regard to the HARRY HAYWOOD Case. HALL answered that this case has not yet been fully decided. We have, he said, more or less avoided trying to settle many of these cases, and this has been a bad thing. HALL recalled that the National Executive Committee had named HARRY HAYWOOD, together with a number of others, as having read themselves out of the Party by joining with an ultra left factional group. However, HAYWOOD had subsequently withdrawn from this ultra left group and therefore his status was in question. On the other hand, AL LANNON, who had also participated in setting up this ultra left competitive organization to the party, had then come to San Francisco and for a year and a half represented that he was paying dues to someone in New York and was still a member of the Party. However, recently AL LANNON, according to GUS HALL, indicated that he has been out of the Party for over a year and a half, and that he is not an active member of the Party nor is he seeking to maintain his status as a member.

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"Floor discussion began with comments by IRV GOFF of the District Board who indicated that he was very interested in the remarks that were made by GUS HALL concerning Italy and Buffalo. With regard to the question of Buffalo, he stated that he had been the head of the steel commission in Buffalo at one time, and that the steel operators had taken and was still taking every step possible to drive the Party out of the shops.

"While he was in Buffalo, he indicated the work had been quite different and was not simply concentrated to passing out leaflets. We must lock ourselves soundly into the shops by whatever methods possible, stated IRVING. He then went on to say that with regard to the Italian Party, he was aware, because he had been there during the war, that the Party had existed for 22 years under Fascism and that in 1939 it had only 600 members. Yet in the face of this terrible terror, they were able to function and even have influence in the railroads throughout the country and in the auto works at Turin. Schools were conducted for cadre and the secretary of the Party who was in exile during this entire period was actually operating as the head of the Party during the entire time.

[redacted] then spoke and said that he is in a good Club, which had actively involved the members of many unions in the anti-Proposition 18 movement. The Club works very well, he said, but it is his feeling that if he brought an outsider from his shop into his Club, the man would not find himself a member of a real political party. Now the AF of L CIO, [redacted] stated, has asked that shop organizations be set up throughout all of the various precincts. It is the main task of the Party to build such movements and to see to it that they set up centers or electoral offices on all levels of government.

[redacted] was followed by [redacted] She stated that the age of the Party is one of the most serious problems presenting us. We must learn to utilize some of our venerable old timers, who are not so good at reading as they use to be.

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LA 100-1763

"We also have very weak organization in our Clubs and weak discipline she said.

[redacted] was followed by [redacted] He said he felt let down by the report because we have not yet mounted a discussion on how to build the Party. We are lacking the old revolutionary spirit, he said. The new era into which we are entering offers us lots of opportunity for struggle, but such struggle requires devotion. We cannot continue to say that problems are complicated as GUS HALL has said tonight. Why cannot we say; what prevents us from organizing on a basis of democratic centralism with the kind of discipline we use to have.

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[redacted] was followed by [redacted] who indicated that some of the problems reaching the Party are simply mechanical ones which can be resolved with devotion and attention. Others, he said, are much more difficult and cannot be resolved so easily. [redacted] was followed by [redacted] She said that the draft political resolution was not sufficiently documented and also that it was lacking in 'passion'. There was a need for holding classes and developing recruiting. Also the street and neighborhood Clubs need to be tied down. Our Clubs should concentrate on a specific democratic Club, a specific assembly district, and so on. It is wrong to have three or four people working in a Club in three or four different mass organizations. [redacted] was followed by a foreign individual, probably of Greek extraction, who speaks with a heavy accent and who was described by the Chairman of the meeting as SIDNEY.

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"He related how the Party had been built in Tampa and then been extended while he was there to various other areas, such as Fort Lauderdale and Miami. He went on to indicate the tremendous success which they had held in building meetings for EARL BROWDER who spoke in Florida several times.

"He then stated how 12 years ago, when he had come here to California, they had had tremendous success in getting Stockholm Peace Petitions signed.

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"We must resume the idea of wide spread mass activity he said. In the Mexican community we have already begun to take real steps with the development of a bi-lingual newspaper. This bi-lingual newspaper, he said, can be extremely important thing in our work in the Mexican community.

"He was followed by [redacted] who raised the question, what problems face us? Are these problems simple? She disagrees with [redacted] who said that people should only work politically. If the people of her Club had dispersed into community clubs when he originally proposed it, several years ago, they would have had great difficulty integrating into the community life. The Needles Work Section is united in its desire to maintain the Party, in spite of the fact that they have many political differences.

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[redacted] was followed by [redacted] who stated that the Club must be the most effective group in the Party. Our Party is much too concerned with the problem of security and should devote itself more with the problem of building the Party. We can carry on the objectives of the mass organization he said, but we must also represent the Party in doing that work. Anybody can become a leader in a mass organization, the thing to do is to become a leader and also put forward the program of the Party.

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"Some of our people, he said, are marking time in this respect, waiting to be inspired with the necessity of the Party. This is wrong. They must get out and get into the work and start building to promote the program of the Party. It is also wrong for our industrial clubs to continue to function simply as fractions, they must function instead as political clubs.

"When DOROTHY HEALEY resumed the podium after the discussion period had been completed, she pointed out that the approach which GUS HALL had used this evening was a dialectical one. It showed that we do not deal with absolutes in the organizational problems of the party. We must always relate our role to the real world around us. And as LENIN said, truth must always be concrete. The needs of

LA 100-1763

"one group are not solved by the approach of the other. Nor can we afford to live simply by directives. Every member of the Party must struggle with the problem of the role of the Party. The problem is one of how we can go about finding answers. To do this we must estimate the moods of the working class and we must learn how to raise the level of the workers thinking with regard to their problems. Within the Clubs we should seek out our own experiences. When she was done speaking, [redacted] asked for the floor and indicated that in the Clubs with which he was working, there had not yet been developed a collective approach to the problem of mass work and the individuals in these Clubs are still working as individuals. This needs to be corrected he said.

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"When the meeting was concluded, the two committees broke into two parts, so that a short meeting could be held in each case. It was suggested by BEN DOBBS to the Committee on Constitution, Organization, and Structure, that a small sub-committee begin to work on some draft documents. However, [redacted] and one or two others objected to this. Shortly thereafter, however, [redacted] and [redacted] got together and agreed they would function informally to start bringing some suggestions together. Accordingly, they decided to meet as a small sub-committee in an informal basis at the home of [redacted] on Tuesday, October 13th. BEN DOBBS said that he would try to attend this meeting as well.

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"The meeting of the Education Commission, which had been set for Tuesday, October 20th, was changed to Monday, October 19th, and consultation between [redacted] [redacted]. This to avoid a conflict which [redacted] had in another meeting which was to take place on the same night. (It should be noted that on the apparent relation between GUS HALL and DOROTHY HEALEY was much more cordial than has been the relation of DOROTHY HEALEY with any other National leader of the Party in the last two or three years. They were seen to leave the meeting together, hand in hand, evidently bent on having coffee or going out in the evening after the meeting was ended quite by themselves.)"

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LA 100-1763

ACTION: Informant was thoroughly interviewed and could add nothing further to the above.

It is being recommended that a 100-NEW be opened on UNSUB., SIDNEY, who was present at this meeting, in order that his identity may be established and appropriate action taken.

All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

Date October 30, 1959

TO SAC:

- Albany
- Albuquerque
- Anchorage
- Atlanta
- Baltimore
- Birmingham
- Boston
- Buffalo
- Butte
- Charlotte
- Chicago
- Cincinnati
- Cleveland
- Dallas
- Denver
- Detroit
- El Paso

- Honolulu
- Houston
- Indianapolis
- Jacksonville
- Kansas City
- Knoxville
- Little Rock
- Los Angeles
- Louisville
- Memphis
- Miami
- Milwaukee
- Minneapolis
- Mobile
- Newark
- New Haven

- New Orleans
- ~~New York City~~
- Norfolk
- Oklahoma City
- Omaha
- Philadelphia
- Phoenix
- Pittsburgh
- Portland
- Richmond
- St. Louis
- Salt Lake City
- San Antonio
- San Diego
- San Francisco
- San Juan

- Savannah
- Seattle
- Springfield
- Washington Field
- Quantico

TO LEGAT:

- Bonn
- Havana
- London
- Madrid
- Mexico D. F.
- Ottawa
- Paris
- Rome
- Rio de Janeiro
- Tokyo

RE: **COMMUNIST PARTY, USA**
MEMBERSHIP
IS-C

For information For appropriate action Surep, by _____

The enclosed is for your information. If used in a future report, conceal all sources, paraphrase contents.

Enclosed are corrected pages from report of SA _____ dated _____.

REMARKS:

100-80638-1654

Waters

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
NOV 2 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Enclosure(s) *ef*

my personal file of

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**ESTIMATED COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERSHIP
AS OF SEPT. 30, 1959**

The following figures are set out according to states and territories, field divisions and Communist Party districts:

MEMBERSHIP IN STATES & TERRITORIES

Alabama	6	Maine	4	Pennsylvania	217
Alaska	0	Maryland	32	Rhode Island	10
Arizona	21	Massachusetts	103	S. Carolina	1
Arkansas	0	Michigan	225	S. Dakota	23
California	1,143	Minnesota	177	Tennessee	0
Colorado	1	Mississippi	0	Texas	35
Connecticut	36	Missouri	49	Utah	19
Delaware	3	Montana	27	Vermont	2
District of Columbia	17	Nebraska	0	Virginia	12
Florida	36	Nevada	0	Washington	213
Georgia	3	New Hampshire	6	W. Virginia	9
Hawaii	0	New Jersey	225	Wisconsin	123
Idaho	15	New Mexico	7	Wyoming	0
Illinois	333	New York	1,073		
Indiana	52	N. Carolina	5	Territory	
Iowa	0	N. Dakota	21	Puerto Rico	12
Kansas	4	Ohio	240		
Kentucky	0	Oklahoma	12		
Louisiana	22	Oregon	55		
				Total	5,766

MEMBERSHIP IN FIELD DIVISIONS

Albany	23	Houston	0	Oklahoma City	12
Albuquerque	7	Indianapolis	52	Omaha	17
Anchorage	0	Jacksonville	6	Philadelphia	172
Atlanta	5	Kansas City	7	Phoenix	21
Baltimore	41	Knoxville	0	Pittsburgh	54
Birmingham	3	Little Rock	0	Portland	55
Boston	123	Los Angeles	717	Richmond	7
Buffalo	73	Louisville	0	St. Louis	46
Butte	42	Memphis	0	Salt Lake City	19
Charlotte	5	Miami	30	San Antonio	6
Chicago	330	Milwaukee	123	San Diego	33
Cincinnati	53	Minneapolis	221	San Francisco	393
Cleveland	130	Mobile	3	San Juan	12
Dallas	19	Newark	225	Savannah	1
Denver	1	New Haven	36	Seattle	213
Detroit	225	New Orleans	22	Springfield	3
El Paso	5	New York	1,373	Washington Field	17
Honolulu	0	Norfolk	5		
				Total	5,766

<u>DISTRICTS</u>	<u>ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP</u>	<u>STATES INCLUDED IN DISTRICTS</u>	<u>ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP</u>
Connecticut District	36	Connecticut	36
Eastern Pennsylvania & Delaware District	175	Pennsylvania (eastern) Delaware	175
Illinois District	533	Illinois (excluding East St. Louis area) Iowa (Davenport & Bettendorf only)	533
Indiana District	52	Indiana	52
Maryland-D.C. District	55	Maryland District of Columbia	55
Michigan District	225	Michigan	225
Minnesota-Dakotas District	221	Minnesota North Dakota South Dakota	221
Missouri District	51	Missouri Kansas (Kansas City only) Illinois (East St. Louis only)	51
Montana District	27	Montana	27
New England District	125	Vermont Maine New Hampshire Massachusetts Rhode Island	125
New Jersey District	225	New Jersey	225
New York District	1,978	New York	1,978
Northern California District	411	California (north of Kern & Santa Barbara Counties)	411
Northwest District	223	Washington Idaho Alaska	223
Ohio District	241	Ohio West Virginia (Panhandle Section)	241

DISTRICTS (Continued)

Oklahoma-Arkansas District	12	Oklahoma Arkansas	12 0
Oregon District	55	Oregon	55
Rocky Mountain District	32	Colorado Utah New Mexico Wyoming Texas (17 western counties)	1 19 7 0 5
Southern California District	732	California (exclusive of counties north of Santa Barbara & Bera Counties)	732
Southern Region	117	Alabama Florida Georgia Louisiana Mississippi North Carolina South Carolina Tennessee Texas (excluding 17 western counties) Virginia	6 36 3 22 0 5 1 0 39 12
Western Pennsylvania District	45	Pennsylvania (western)	45
Wisconsin District	125	Wisconsin	125
<u>STATES WITHOUT FORMAL CP ORGANIZATION</u>	48	Arizona Hawaii Iowa Kansas Kentucky Nebraska Nevada West Virginia (exclusive of the four Panhandle counties)	21 0 3 2 0 9 0 3
<u>TERRITORIAL POSSESSION</u>	12	Puerto Rico	12
Total	5,766	Total	5,766

CUMULATIVE ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP FIGURES BY FIELD DIVISION (Continued)

	<u>12-31-50</u>	<u>3-31-52</u>	<u>6-30-52</u>	<u>9-30-52</u>
San Diego	27	27	24	25
San Francisco	450	440	440	395*
San Juan	14	14	15	12
Savannah	0	0	1	1
Seattle	220	206	209	210
Springfield	9	10	9	10
Washington Field	28	25	28	17
TOTALS	<u>6,866</u>	<u>6,323</u>	<u>6,235</u>	<u>6,765</u>

NOTE ON YELLOW:

See memo Baumgardner to Belmont dated 10-30-59, captioned "Communist Party, USA, Membership, IS-C" PFF:med.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68) DATE: 11/17/59
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638)
SUBJECT: CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP
IS-C

On 11/4/59, NY 2002-S* made available for review, information maintained by the CP, USA at its National Office, 23 West 26th St., NYC. Among such material was found the following data among the records of PHIL BART, National Organization Secretary of the CP, USA. A notation indicates that the figures were compiled "as of 11/3/59", and it appears that these figures represent a listing by state and district of the CP organization of total dues paid during a twelve month period. Information obtained earlier has reflected that this period was set as October, 1958 to October, 1959. It is assumed that the last column indicates the number of delegates to the National Convention of the CP, USA, to which the state or district is entitled on the basis of average monthly dues.

The totals of columns 2 and 3, which have been inserted, reflect a dues paying membership of 5,075 and a delegate representation of 103.

2-Bureau (100-3-68) (RM)
1-All Offices (100-) (CP, USA - Membership) (Info) (RM)
1-New York (100-128817) (CP, USA - NY District - Membership) (416)
1-New York (100-80638)

JVW:rmv
(57)

100-80638-1655

COMPARATIVE ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP FIGURES BY REGION DIVISION

	12-31-53	3-31-52	6-30-52	9-30-52
Albany	02	26	25	28
Albuquerque	0	6	7	0
Anchorage	0	0	0	0
Atlanta	0	0	0	0
Baltimore	82	51	48	41
Birmingham	0	2	0	0
Boston	140	123	123	120
Buffalo	90	92	84	75
Butte	53	45	42	42
Charlotte	21	14	0	0
Chicago	608	577	544	510
Cincinnati	68	66	61	58
Cleveland	189	189	185	183
Dallas	22	20	19	19
Denver	7	7	1	1
Detroit	250	225	225	221
El Paso	5	0	0	0
Honolulu	0	0	0	0
Houston	7	6	4	0
Indianapolis	60	60	60	58
Jacksonville	6	6	0	0
Kansas City	8	0	7	0
Knoxville	0	0	0	0
Little Rock	0	0	0	0
Los Angeles	1,000	996	796	717*
Louisville	0	0	0	0
Memphis	0	0	0	0
Miami	31	31	30	30
Milwaukee	102	125	125	125
Minneapolis	224	215	220	221
Mobile	4	0	0	0
Newark	213	200	250	221*
New Haven	33	36	36	36
New Orleans	22	22	21	22
New York	2,250	2,202	2,148	1,872*
Norfolk	6	7	5	0
Oklahoma City	12	12	12	12
Omaha	20	20	20	17
Philadelphia	144	144	172	172
Phoenix	22	23	24	21
Pittsburgh	69	61	66	64
Portland	43	51	51	53
Richmond	0	0	0	7
St. Louis	79	73	59	46
Salt Lake City	19	19	19	19
San Antonio	5	8	6	6

* Indicates significant fluctuation in membership

NY 100-80638

This data, as received, follows:

	No. Pd.	Aver. 12 mos	No. Del.
New York	27,644	2303.8	37
New J.	982	82	2
E. Pa. & Del	2004	167	6
N. Pa	70	6	11
Md.	311	26	1
Conn.	100	8	1
New Eng.	1263	105	3
Ohio	1249	104	3
Mich	1435	120	3
Ill.	5261	438	8
Ind.	690	58	2
Wisc.	1007	84	2
Minn.	1490	124	3
Daks	444	37	1
Oreg	393	33	1
Neb.	---		
Mont	383	32	1
Utah	146	12	1
Wash	1749	146	3
Idaho	23	2	1
So. Cal.	9653	804	17
No. Cal.	3739	312	3
Mo.	392	33	1
Fla.	220	18	1
Okla.	253	21	1
		(5075)	(103)

SAC, CHICAGO (100-32741)

11/6/59

SA [REDACTED]

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
ORGANIZATION
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

On September 26, 1959, [REDACTED] advised that GUS HALL met with a group of students who were identified as being from Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois.

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HALL explained to the group that his work has not been started because he spent six years in the penitentiary. HALL went on to explain that he was indicted for violation of the Smith Act in 1948, and stated the trial was very interesting in that it covered a charge which involved thinking. HALL stated actually the charge was a conspiracy to teach and not the attempt to overthrow the Government. HALL explained he just finished two years probation following his release from the penitentiary, and about three months ago he was elected as one of the National Communist Party (CP) Secretaries in ~~State~~ of the Midwest.

HALL commented that the CP functions like other political organizations in that it has a national organization, state organization, and a regional committee in four regions of the United States. He stated, in addition to the state organizations there are city, section, and clubs. He stated the difference between the CP and most political parties is that the CP functions on a year-round basis. HALL commented that the CP believed that society is moving into another stage away from capitalism. He commented that it is the CP's conviction that atomic energy should be used for the full benefit of human beings and the leadership will be the working class, the common people, with sections of intellectuals.

HALL commented that with a democratic tradition and American Government continuing, socialism possibly can come about in elections through Constitutional means.

HALL then commented that these students would probably be interviewed by the FBI inasmuch as HALL claimed that everywhere he went he was followed by the FBI.

- 1 - Cleveland (100-421) (GUS HALL) (RM)
- 2 - New York (RM)
 - 1 - 100-30641 (CP, USA, Organization)
 - 1 - 100- (CP, USA, Membership)
- 3 - Chicago
 - 1 - 61-867 (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
 - 1 - 100-13952 CP, Membership)

PHK:fes (6)

100-80638-1656

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
NOV 12 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

J. J. States
#415

One of the students asked how long it would be before the American people come to the place where the Government would be taken over as HALL indicated. HALL stated there were many trends developing both nationally and internationally, and stated that once the American people grab hold of such a thing it will move very fast. HALL commented that there was no doubt in his mind that in the life time of the children of those in the room America would be socialistic.

At this point of the meeting, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT joined this discussion. A question was asked as to whether HALL was elected to his position from above or below, and he replied he was elected by the National Committee. He stated the CP has a National Committee of 55 members elected from below.

An unidentified girl inquired as to what the affiliation of the CP is with Russia. HALL said there was no affiliation at all. HALL commented that Russia was the first to take the road to socialism, and their experiences which are valuable will be taken by the Party here just as Americans take experiences from the past. HALL commented, "We have to find our own way to socialism; we are a resourceful people".

The question was asked whether HALL thought the visit of KHRUSHCHEV to the United States had any bearing on the Party here. HALL replied not directly. He stated that the important thing is that Americans can say that Russians are people, and it is going to be more difficult to convince Americans that we can't get along. HALL went on to praise the development of the Russian rockets, and he stated the people will get the idea that the two countries will get together. One of the individuals present stated they understood that people in Russia cannot believe in God. She inquired whether this would happen in the United States. HALL stated this was not true even of Russia. HALL stated that with so many people going to Russia they now admit the fact that there is complete freedom of religion and a large section, especially of the older generation, go to church.

HALL then introduced CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT to the group as the Illinois State Chairman of the CP. HALL was asked whether the CP is considered legal or illegal. He commented that in some ways it is legal. HALL cited several laws, one of which was passed several weeks ago, that stated no person who has been a member of the CP in a five-year period can be an officer of a union. HALL commented that we talk democracy but we don't practice it.

LIGHTFOOT at this point cited a message which had been received from State Senator MONROE of Illinois who asserted that the CP has a right to express itself. LIGHTFOOT stated he thought this was indicative of a trend. LIGHTFOOT commented that Communists or Negroes cannot be suppressed without suppressing other things.

One of the individuals asked as to the total membership of the CP. LIGHTFOOT stated it would be hard to judge, stating they were having a meeting this evening and if 500 people are present it will be considered good. LIGHTFOOT stated that the CP at one time influenced in Chicago about 30,000 or 40,000 people, and it had an actual membership of about 6,000 or 7,000. He stated actual membership today would run from 600 to 1,000, but even in today's conditions there must be 10,000 people who adhered to the program and further that program when they can without jeopardizing themselves.

One of the individuals asked about the ideals of Communists. HALL replied that the system of capitalism was decaying and with it comes the idea there is nothing fresh. He stated the capitalist system is much like the declining Rome with declining morals. He stated socialism has as its root the idea of working together to achieve something, and the moral basis is not what a person can get for himself but what he can do to help others. HALL commented the problems of delinquency are not unusual but are byproducts of the capitalistic system. Before the group left HALL offered each of them a copy of "The Worker".

Recommendation

No immediate action necessary.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C2009) (424)

DATE: 11/13/59

FROM : SA [redacted] (416)

SUBJECT: MANHATTAN YOUTH CLUB
CP, USA
IS - C

Identity of source [redacted] who has furnished reliable info in past (conceal)

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Description of info 10/17/59 CP Manhattan Youth Club Discussion

Date received 10/20/59

Received by SA [redacted] (written)

Original location [redacted]

A copy of informant's written report follows:

- 1 - NY 100-67234 [redacted] (424)
- 1 - NY 100-125874 [redacted] (424)
- 1 - NY 100-114066 [redacted] (424)
- 1 - NY 100- [redacted] (416)
- 1 - NY 100-110150 [redacted] (416)
- 1 - NY 100-137717 [redacted] (416)
- 1 - NY 100-134884 [redacted] (416)
- 1 - NY 100-133542 [redacted] (416)
- 1 - NY 100- (MILTON A. (TNU), at MYC mtg., 10/17/59, per [redacted] (412))
- 1 - NY 100- (TOM [redacted] W. M, 24, at MYC mtg., 10/17/59 per [redacted] (412))
- 1 - NY 100- [redacted] (422)
- 1 - NY 100-80638 (CP, USA, Membership) (415)
- 1 - NY 100-128804 (CP, USA, NYD, Youth Matters) (416)
- 1 - NY 100-80644 (CP, USA, Youth Matters) (415)
- 1 - NY 100-26603-C2009 (424)

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EMA:mfd
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100-80638-1657

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NOV 13 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

J. V. Stapp
11/15

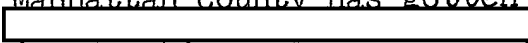
October 17, 1959

Time: October 17, 1959, 10:30 AM
Place: 86 Stanton Street, New York City N.Y.
Event: Communist Party Manhattan Youth Club
discussion
Speaker: RUTH LNU (W-F-40-5'5"-140 lbs)
"National Convention Draft Resolution"
Attendance: 11

Identified



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RUTH LNU spoke about the coming National Convention. She said the resolutions on peace, youth, employment should have the fullest discussion. Before she read some of the draft resolution she stated that during the recruiting drive, Manhattan County has gotten 10 new members. Two of them  right in the Manhattan Youth Club. She said the County Convention was to be held November 20, 21, 22. The Manhattan Youth Club is entitled to 2 delegates for each five members. For the State it is one delegate for five. The discussion that followed RUTH LNU's reading lasted about 40 minutes and was mainly concerned at blasting the "call" group and right-wing revisionism.

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O F F I C E M E M O R A N D U M * UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, San Diego DATE: 11/15/59

FROM : SAC, Detroit (100-16906)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY,
USA MEMBERSHIP
IS - C

Re Bureau airtel 8/31/59, captioned "GUS HALL;
IS - C; SMITH ACT OF 1940 - ISA OF 1950."

GUS HALL visited the residence of CARL WINTER, 9556 Burnette, Detroit, October 4 and 5, 1959. WINTER and HALL are members of the National Executive Committee, CP, USA, and WINTER is also chairman of the Michigan CP District.

CSDE 606-S*, a source close to WINTER and who has furnished reliable information in the past, on October 4, 1959, made available materials in the possession of HALL including a 5 page handwritten letter bearing the date September 15, 1959, and salutation "Dear Gene," and the signature "Rap." This letter also contains a return address of "I.M. Rapport (phonetic) 1680 Chapman, Petaluma, Calif."

- 5 - San Diego (RM) (Encl. - 1)
(1 - 100 - MIKIE) (phonetic)
(1 - 100 - A. RIDEMON) (phonetic)
(1 - 100 - CP, USA, FACTIONALISM)
(1 - 100 - I.M. RAPPORT) (phonetic)
- 4 - New York (RM) (Encl. - 1) (Info) *of destroyed*
(1 - 100 - ABNER GREEN)
(1 - 100 - EUGENE DENNIS)
(1 - 100 - CP, USA, FACTIONALISM)
- 1 - Seattle (RM) (Info)
1 - Cleveland (RM) (Info)
3 - Detroit
(1 - 100-13420) (CARL WINTER)
(1 - 100-13136) (GUS HALL)
(1 - 100-13420, Sub 1)

EJC:GMC
(14)

100-88635-1658

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J. J. Stated
#465

DE 100-16906

A review of the contents of this letter reflects that the author has been ill for a number of years but that he maintained his Party membership by paying dues directly to the "District;" further that the author during the past few years paid his Party dues directly to ABNER GREEN whenever GREEN visited the West Coast and that GREEN in turn furnished the dues to the "Center." The author mentions that since ABNER GREEN's death he is unable to continue dues payments and that there is some indication that "MIKIE" (phonetic) has referred to the author as an "X" (supposedly ex-member). The author points out that he does not desire to become an ex-member after 40 years of Party life and that the only one who talks to him is A. RIDEMON (phonetic). The author continues that he is located on a farm in a small community and cannot be active but that he would like to continue as a member at large and that perhaps "GENE" would refer him to the proper channels so he could belong to the Seattle District. The "GENE" referred to is probably EUGENE DENNIS.

One copy each of this document is being furnished the San Diego and New York Offices. No investigative leads are being set out for San Diego inasmuch as Detroit feels that the identity of the author is probably already known.

Detroit has no information, which would indicate the reason why HALL would be in possession of a letter directed to EUGENE DENNIS.

The enclosed photographs are numbered 19 through 23 and one set is retained in DE 100-13420-1B16.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-4931)

Date: 11/25/59

FROM : SA JOSEPH V. WATERS

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
IS-C

Report of SA JOSEPH V. WATERS, NY, 10/20/59,
reflects activity of CP, USA for the quarterly period

- 1-New York (100-80641) (CP, USA-Organization) (415)
- 1-New York (100-80638) (CP, USA-Membership) (415)
- 1-New York (100-74560) (CP, USA-Funds) (415)
- 1-New York (100-81338) (CP, USA-Security Measures) (415)
- 1-New York (100-96985) (CP, USA-Underground Operations) (415)
- 1-New York (100-87211) (CP, USA-Factionalism) (415)
- 1-New York (100-86624) (CP, USA-International Relations) (415)
- 1-New York (100-88123) (CP, USA-United Nations) (415)
- 1-New York (100-87212) (CP, USA-Colonial Matters) (415)
- 1-New York (100-79717) (CP, USA-Political Activities) (415)
- 1-New York (100-80636) (CP, USA - Legislative Activities) (415)
- 1-New York (100-89691) (CP, USA-Domestic Administration Issues) (415)
- 1-New York (100-89590) (CP, USA-Strategy in Industry) (415)
- 1-New York (100-80640) (CP, USA-Negro Question) (415)
- 1-New York (100-80644) (CP, USA-Youth Matters) (415)
- 1-New York (100-80643) (CP, USA-Women Matters) (415)
- 1-New York (100-80634) (CP, USA-Farmers Matters) (415)
- 1-New York (100-88297) (CP, USA-Cultural Activities) (415)
- 1-New York (100-79498) (CP, USA-Veterans Matters) (415)
- 1-New York (100-54651) (CP, USA-National Groups) (415)
- 1-New York (100-80864) (CP, USA-Religion) (415)
- 1-New York (100-81675) (CP, USA-Pamphlets and Publications) (415)
- 1-New York (100-80633) (CP, USA-Education) (415)
- 1-New York (100-133902) (CP, USA-Attempts of CP to Infiltrate
Mass Organizations) (415)
- 1-New York (100-4931)

JVW:rmv
(25)

JVW

Chief Clerk
Post *[Signature]*

100-80638-1659

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[Signature]

NY 100-4931

7/1/59 to 9/30/59. Details of such activity may be found in this report under the following:

- Organization
- Membership
- Funds
- Factionalism
- International Relations
- Political Activities
- Legislative Activities
- Domestic Administration Issues
- Strategy in Industry
- Negro Question
- Youth Matters
- Farmers Matters
- National Groups
- Religion
- Pamphlets and Publications

No pertinent information concerning the following was developed for inclusion in above report:

- Security Measures
- Underground Operations
- United Nations
- Colonial Matters
- Women Matters
- Cultural Activities
- Veterans Matters
- Education
- Attempts of CP to Infiltrate Mass Organizations

Office Memorandum ; - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, New York (100-80638)

DATE: 12/2/59

FROM : SAC, Pittsburgh (100-8664)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP
IS - C

Reurlet to Bureau, 11/17/59, which set forth data regarding dues payments made by various CP districts to the CP, USA National Headquarters as furnished by NY 2002-S* on 11/4/59.

Page two of relet sets forth information concerning N. Pa. (believed to be Western Pennsylvania) as well as information concerning the Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware District of the CP. In view of the fact that there is no Northern Pennsylvania District of the CP it is requested that data furnished by source noted above be reviewed to determine if this information pertains to the CP, USA, Western Pennsylvania District. It is further requested that the information be furnished the Pittsburgh Office prior to 12/31/59, so said information may be utilized in the next quarterly report of the CP of Western Pennsylvania.

② - New York (RM)
1 - Pittsburgh

ERC:mz
(3)

100-80638-1660

J.V. Waters

415

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DEC 4 1959	
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J.V. Waters

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

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TO : ✓ SAC, New York

DATE: December 2, 1959

FROM: *J.W.* Director, FBISUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
MEMBERSHIP
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Circumstances require that the Communist Party, USA, membership figures for the quarterly period ending December 31, 1959, ordinarily due at the Bureau no later than January 20, 1960, be tabulated and furnished to reach the Bureau as soon after December 31, 1959, as possible and at least no later than January 6, 1960. This data should be transmitted by airtel employing the caption of this letter.

The airtel must contain the data usually incorporated under the membership caption in the quarterly report as well as explanations relating to significant fluctuations in membership. In addition, the number of members positively and tentatively identified during the preceding twelve-month period must likewise be included.

2 - Albany	2 - Houston	2 - Oklahoma City
2 - Albuquerque	2 - Indianapolis	2 - Omaha
2 - Anchorage	2 - Jacksonville	2 - Philadelphia
2 - Atlanta	2 - Kansas City	2 - Phoenix
2 - Baltimore	2 - Knoxville	2 - Pittsburgh
2 - Birmingham	2 - Little Rock	2 - Portland
2 - Boston	2 - Los Angeles	2 - Richmond
2 - Buffalo	2 - Louisville	2 - Saint Louis
2 - Butte	2 - Memphis	2 - Salt Lake City
2 - Charlotte	2 - Miami	2 - San Antonio
2 - Chicago	2 - Milwaukee	2 - San Diego
2 - Cincinnati	2 - Minneapolis	2 - San Francisco
2 - Cleveland	2 - Mobile	2 - San Juan
2 - Dallas	2 - Newark	2 - Savannah
2 - Denver	2 - New Haven	2 - Seattle
2 - Detroit	2 - New Orleans	2 - Springfield
2 - El Paso	2 - Norfolk	2 - Washington Field
2 - Honolulu		

1cc in 100-128817
J.W.

J.V. Waters

100-90638-1661

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FBI - NEW YORK	

Opter

Letter to SAC, New York
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, MEMBERSHIP

Auxiliary offices are instructed to furnish membership data to the offices of origin as expeditiously as possible in order that the Bureau deadline of January 6, 1960, can be met.

The foregoing instructions do not alter in any way membership data to be contained in quarterly reports for the period ending December 31, 1959. The airtel should be a succinct duplication of the membership data which will be incorporated in the quarterly reports. It is important that all figures contained in the airtels agree completely with those in the quarterly reports.

This request for submission of membership figures relates only to this quarterly period and will not be required for subsequent periods unless you are advised to the contrary by the Bureau.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C2004)

DATE: 12/3/59

FROM: SA [redacted]

SUBJECT: CLUB #2
UPPER WESTSIDE CP SECTION
IS - C

- [redacted]
- 1-NY (100-26603-C1920) (UWS-CP SECTION) (424)
- 1-NY (100-118090) [redacted] (4)
- 1-NY (100-122352) [redacted] (424)
- 1-NY (100-100351) [redacted] (24)
- 1-NY (100-18065) (JACK STACHEL) (415)
- 1-NY (100-125496) [redacted] (24)
- 1-NY (100-134143) [redacted] (424)
- 1-NY (100-135244) [redacted] (424)
- 1-NY (100-87518) [redacted]
- 1-NY (100-60639) [redacted]
- 1-NY (100-135231) [redacted]
- 1-NY (100-83194) [redacted] (24)
- 1-NY (100-133510) [redacted] (1)
- 1-NY (100-99801) [redacted]
- 1-NY (100- [redacted] HARRIET LNU, MEMBER OF UWS-CP SECTION HR
[redacted] ON 11/13/59) (424)
- 1-NY (100-84135) [redacted] (424)
- 1-NY (100-47738) [redacted]
- 1-NY (100-88154) [redacted]
- 1-NY (100- [redacted])
- [redacted]
- 1-NY (100-57965) [redacted] (424)
- 1-NY (100-80638) (CP, USA MEMBERSHIP AND RECRUITMENT) (415)
- 1-NY (100-81752) (CP, USA, COMPROS) (41)
- 1-NY (100-26603-C2004) (424)

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DR:ume
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W-77

100-80638-1662

413 X

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DEC 3 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

W. J. [signature]

NY 100-26603-C2004

Identity of Source	[redacted] who has furnished reliable info in past (conceal)
Description of Info	Meeting of Club #2, Upper Westside CP Section, 11/10/59.
Date Received	11/13/59
Received By	SA [redacted] oral
Original Location	[redacted]

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Information furnished by informant, as reflected above, was dictated by SA [redacted] to a dictaphone on 11/13/59; transcribed by [redacted] on 11/16-17/59, and authenticated by informant on 11/19/59.

A copy of informant's oral report follows.

NY 100-26603-C2004

November 13, 1959

Meeting of Club 2 of the Upper West Side Section
of the New York County Communist Party (CP)
November 10, 1959

On the evening of November 10, 1959, extending from 8:10 PM to approximately 11:00 PM, there was a meeting of Club 2, of the Upper West Side Section of the New York County CP, at the residence of [REDACTED] Street, New York City. The following individuals were present at this meeting:

[REDACTED]

JACK STACHEL

[REDACTED]

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The Chairman of this meeting was [REDACTED]

Prior to the beginning of this meeting, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] stated that she had on this date quit her job. She said that she could not get along with the old man who operated the shop that she worked in and that this individual was a "stingy person."

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[REDACTED] [REDACTED] announced that [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] (LNU) had asked to be excused from this meeting as it was necessary that they attend other meetings.

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NY 100-26603-C2004

[redacted] announced the following agenda:

1. Final Plans For the Upper West Side CP Section Convention.
2. Discussion on the Draft Resolution.
3. Good and Welfare.
4. Announcements.

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[redacted] announced that the Section Convention will be held on November 14, 1959, in Room 16-C, at Academy Hall, 853 Broadway, New York City. She said that this convention of the Upper West Side CP Section would be held under the name "West Side Literary Club" and would start at 10:45 AM.

[redacted] read off the following names of delegates and alternates to the Upper West Side CP Section Convention:

[redacted]

JACK (STACHEL)

[redacted]

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It is noted all the above individuals will be delegates to the convention and as such will be allowed to vote. It is noted only first names were used on this list to protect the identity of the delegates and in the case of the three [redacted] contortions of their first names were used to distinguish among them.

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NY 100-26603-C2004

The following individuals were alternates to the Upper West Side CP Section Convention:

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] stated that at the Section Convention, [REDACTED] will give the main report on the work of the Section in the past two years. She stated there will be individual reports on PTA work and other activities including housing, community activities, etc.

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[REDACTED] then read from pages 40 and 42 of the Draft Political Resolution as it appears in the September 1959 "Political Affairs" and commented regarding this resolution. She stated that we failed to get acquainted with the work in other organizations and what these organizations are doing. She mentioned as an example the trade unions.

[REDACTED] questioned about what delegates to the Section Convention there would be from those Comrades working within the mass organizations. [REDACTED] replied that this point was discussed at a Club meeting some time ago and that it already has been taken care of and there would be no further discussion.

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JACK STACHEL stressed the importance of self-criticism in the CP. He said self-criticism is an important factor in Party building. This fact seems to be entirely forgotten in the Political Resolution, according to STACHEL. He said that recruiting in the CP is poor and last year we did not get 100 new members into the CP (apparently talking about the National Party). STACHEL stated that this year we only got 25 new members into the entire Party.

STACHEL continued by stating that a living organization must grow, however, since February 1958, the CP membership has remained stable. He said the steel

NY 100-26603-C2004

strike could have been a great opportunity to recruit new members, but we failed in our efforts. STACHEL said that sometimes people are waiting to be recruited and we are unable to get to them. He cited an example that recently two young people in Ohio, wanted to join the CP, but they could not contact anybody. He said they tried everything to find out where they could be recruited. Finally he said, they picked up a library book containing a list of subversive organizations and found the address of CP Headquarters. He said that when they wrote CP Headquarters, we sent word to Cleveland, and finally the two were reached and were recruited.

STACHEL outlined the following steps in Party building:

1. Building contacts.
2. Building ourselves.
3. Building our press.
4. Recruiting.
5. Building up a Youth Club.
6. Systematic sale and distribution of "The Worker."

[redacted] stated the Comrades in industry have the best chance to make contacts with the Puerto Rican people. [redacted] commented that we must show people we are still alive and can only do this by having street meetings. She said that at a meeting of the Committee of First Amendment Defendants, which was held in New York City on November 5, 1959, a speaker had mentioned that the CP has been practically destroyed. [redacted] stated that this was a shocking statement.

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[redacted] also stated that she remembered the speaker at this meeting and was surprised that such a statement would be made.

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[redacted] stated that the suggestion of open-air meetings was very important and that she felt we

NY 100-26603-C2004

should have them before it gets cold. She said we must prove to the masses what we are and we can only do this if we work as individuals and find out how the Puerto Rican people live. She said we should explain to the people the school bond issue and we should find out about the slums.

[redacted] continued by stating when we were needed, we were not there - if we don't reflect the work we are doing we cannot get anywhere. [redacted] complained that all the other organizations in the communities are well organized, but we are not.

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[redacted] stated that the above situation is the fault of the leadership from the top down to the Section. She described the leaders as being lax.

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[redacted] continued by stating we must learn about the Puerto Rican people before we start work with them. She suggested that we should get the help of COLON.

[redacted] stated that the Upper West Side CP had a special meeting with COLON some time ago and we listened to his suggestions and advice, but didn't do anything about it.

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[redacted] then stated that Club 1 had contributed \$85.00 to be added to the Section Fund Drive.

[redacted] stated that \$25.00 will be contributed by him to the Fund Drive, and both [redacted] both gave \$10.00, as contributions to the fund drive.

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It was announced that the next meeting of Club 2 would be held on November 17, 1959, at the residence of [redacted]

[redacted] gave [redacted] comments that [redacted] had prepared regarding the Draft Political Resolution. [redacted] asked if anybody else had

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NY 100-26603-C2004

written anything on this subject and nobody had. [redacted]
gave the notes prepared by [redacted]

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[redacted] distributed a leaflet announcing a meeting of the West Side Community club to be held on November 13, 1959, at the Beacon Hotel, New York City.

[redacted] urged that the Comrades chip - in to pay for a greeting to be inserted in the Memorial Journal of the ACPFB. [redacted] circulated among the Comrades and collected a total of \$5.00. MILLS made out a slip stating, "Friends of the West Side Club," which would be inserted in the Memorial Journal.

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[redacted] gave [redacted] \$5.00 and requested that [redacted] as the press director of the Upper West Side CP, renew the [redacted] "Worker" subscription.

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SAC, PITTSBURGH (100-8664)

12/9/59

SAC, NY (100-80638)

CPUSA-MEMBERSHIP
IS-C

Reurlet, 12/2/59.

Information set out in NYlet, 11/17/59, reflects all the data provided by NY 2002-S* on 11/4/59. It would appear that the appearance of "N. Pa" was an error on the part of the person compiling the CP record.

2 - Pittsburgh (100-8664) (RM)

1 - NY (100-80638) (415)

JVW:KMI

(3) *[Handwritten signature]*

100-80638-1663

[Handwritten initials]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-4)

DATE: DEC 8 1959

FROM : SAC, ALBANY (100-2349)

SUBJECT: CP, USA
NEW YORK DISTRICT
NEW YORK DIVISION
IS - C

[redacted] orally on November 30, 1959, and by notes filed in Albany file [redacted] advised SA [redacted] of his attendance at the State convention of the New York State Communist Party held in Academy Hall on Broadway in New York City on Friday evening, Saturday and Sunday, November 27-29, 1959. Informant is reliable.

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Informant presented his credentials and received a Credential Card from a group of six individuals who were registering delegates in a room on the 15th floor. These individuals were apparently members of the Credentials Committee.

The convention convened at 8:00 PM on Friday evening in Room 15A which appeared to be about three rooms with movable partitions. Approximately 150 to 175 delegates attended each of the three sessions. [redacted] was observed with Credential Card #120 and an unknown female from the Nassau Section, who was sitting with [redacted] was observed with alternate delegate credential card #20.

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It was announced that a Credential Committee, a Resolutions Committee and a Presiding Committee had been selected. Certain members of the Presiding Committee, whose responsibility was to bring recommendations on procedure to the convention and to settle any difficulties such as a squabble over delegates to the National convention, were identified from the Chair as BETTY GANNETT, PAUL ROBESON, JESUS COLON, ED PINCKNEY, BILL WEINSTONE and one FRED and one AL.

A young fat Jewish boy named MARVIN was at the door to Room 15A and checked each delegate in by his credential card.

See Page 2 for copies

REM:ggd
(105)

100-80638-166K

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FBI - NEW YORK	

[Handwritten signatures and initials over the stamp]

AL 100-2349

COPIES:

2-Bureau (100-3-4) (RM)
2-New York (100-26603) (RM)
2-New York (100-128814) (CP Organization) (RM)
1-New York (100-129629) (WILLIAM ALBERTSON) (RM)
1-New York (100-25623) (ERIC BERT) (RM)
1-New York (100-25840) [REDACTED] (RM)
1-New York (100-60640) [REDACTED] (RM)
1-New York (100-559) (JESUS COLON) (RM)
1-New York (100-106126) [REDACTED] (RM)
1-New York (100-56) [REDACTED] (RM)
1-New York (100-23825) (BEN DAVIS, JR.) (RM)
1-New York (100-93365) [REDACTED] (RM)
1-New York (100-103907) [REDACTED] (RM)
1-New York (100-13473) (SI GERSON) (RM)
1-New York (100-10113) [REDACTED] (RM)
1-New York [REDACTED] (RM)
1-New York (100-79025) [REDACTED] (RM)
1-New York (100-13203) (GEORGE MORRIS) (RM)
1-New York (100-88013) [REDACTED] (RM)
1-New York (100-13447) [REDACTED] (RM)
1-New York (100-84275) (WILLIAM PATTERSON) (RM)
1-New York (100-65761) [REDACTED] (RM)
1-New York (100-67670) [REDACTED] (RM)
1-New York (100-105448) [REDACTED] (RM)
1-New York (100-58535) (CONSTANTINE RADZIE) (RM)
1-New York (100-9550) (PAUL ROBESON, JR.) (RM)
1-New York (100-117158) [REDACTED] (RM)
1-New York (100-13527) [REDACTED] (RM)
1-New York (100-20) (MORRIS SCHAPPES) (RM)
1-New York (100-109560) [REDACTED] (RM)
1-New York (100-111666) [REDACTED] (RM)
1-New York [REDACTED] (RM)
1-New York (100-9375) [REDACTED] (RM)
1-New York (100-11383) [REDACTED] (RM)
1-New York (100-21421) (ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG) (RM)
1-New York (100-50094) [REDACTED] (RM)
1-New York (100-79937) [REDACTED] (RM)
1-New York (100-54555) [REDACTED] (RM)
1-New York (100-26018) (LOUIS WEINSTOCK) (RM)
1-New York (100-9595) (WILLIAM WEINSTONE) (RM)
1-New York (100-116704) [REDACTED] (RM)
1-New York (100-13483) (BETTY GANNETT) (RM)
1-New York (100-91308) [REDACTED] (RM)
1-New York (100-228) [REDACTED] (RM)
1-New York (100-48033) (IRVING POTASH) (RM)

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AL 100-2349

COPIES CONT.

1-New York (100-118174) [redacted] (RM)
1-New York (100-16785) (JIM JACKSON) (RM) b6
1-New York [redacted] (RM) b7C
1-New York [redacted] (RM)
1-New York (JAMES TORNEY) (RM)
1-New York (JACK STACHEL) (RM)
1-New York (100-9369) (TED BASSETT) (RM)
1-New York (EUGENE DENNIS) (RM)
1-New York (BOB THOMPSON) (RM)
1-New York (CP Membership) (RM)
1-New York (100-128804) (CP Youth) (RM)
1-New York (100-128812) (CP Political Activities) (RM)
1-New York (100-80641-Sub B) (RM)
1-New York (CP 17th National Convention) (RM)
1-New York (CP Puerto Rican Activities) (RM)
1-New York (100-128809) (CP Strategy in Industry) (RM)
1-New York (100-12815) (CP Negro Question) (RM)
1-New York (Freedom of the Press) (RM)
1-New York (100-128822) (Education) (RM)
1-New York (100-132430) (Industrial Section) (RM)
1-New York (100-26603-C40) (Bronx Section) (RM)
1-New York (Manhattan Section) (RM)
1-New York (100-26603-C45) (Nassau Section) (RM)
1-New York (100-26603-C41) (Queens Section) (RM)
1-New York (100-26603-C44) (Westchester Section) (RM)
1-New York (Harlem Section) (RM)
1-New York (100-Unsub BILLY, speaker at NYS CP convention,
11/27-29/59) (RM)
1-New York (100-Unsub female delegate from Nassau,
Credential Card alternate 20, NYS CP convention
11/27-29/59) (RM)
1-New York (100-Unsub FRED, member of Presiding Committee,
NYS CP convention, 11/27-29/59) (RM)
1-New York (100-Unsub AL, member of Presiding Committee,
NYS CP convention, 11/27-29/59) (RM)
1-New York (100-Unsub VIRGINIA, Manhattan County delegate
to NYS CP convention, 11/27-29/59) (RM)
1-New York (100-Unsub BELLA, delegate to NYS CP convention,
11/27-29/59) (RM)
1-New York (100-Unsub LEON, Aka. Monroe, Bronx Section
delegate to NYS CP convention, 11/27-29/59) (RM)

COPIES CONT.
PAGE 4

AL 100-2349

1-New York (100-Unsub SHEPPY, Manhattan Section delegate,
NYS CP convention 11/27-29/59)(RM)
1-New York (100-Unsub JACK, Manhattan Section delegate,
NYS CP convention, 11/27-29/59)(RM)
1-New York (100-Unsub DONNA, Manhattan Section delegate,
NYS CP convention, 11/27-29/59)(RM)
1-New York (100-Unsub ART, Manhattan Section delegate, NYS
CP convention, 11/27-29/59)(RM)
1-New York (100-Unsub NAT, Industrial Section delegate,
NYS CP convention, 11/27-29/59)(RM)
1-New York (100-Unsub ALFRED, Industrial Section delegate,
NYS CP convention, 11/27-29/59)(RM)
1-New York (100-Unsub IRWIN, Industrial Section delegate,
NYS CP convention, 11/27-29/59)(RM)
1-New York (100-Unsub BOB, Industrial Section delegate, NYS
CP convention, 11/27-29/59).(RM)
1-New York (100-Unsub ELIX, Industrial Section delegate,
NYS CP convention, 11/27-29/59)(RM)
1-New York (100-Unsub AGNES, Brooklyn Section delegate, NYS
CP convention, 11/27-29/59)(RM)
1-New York (100-Unsub ARGUS, Bronx Section delegate, NYS CP
convention, 11/27-29/59)(RM)
1-New York (100-Unsub LOUISE, Bronx Section delegate, NYS
CP convention, 11/27-29/59) (RM)
1-New York (100-Unsub EDITH, Bronx Section delegate, NYS CP
convention, 11/27-29/59)(RM)
1-New York (100-Unsub JAKE, Youth Section delegate, NYS CP
convention, 11/27-29/59)(RM)
1-New York (100-Unsub ED, Youth Section delegate, NYS CP
convention, 11/27-29/59)(RM)
2-Buffalo (100-CP, USA, New York District, Buffalo Division)
1-Buffalo (100-10454) () (RM)
1-Buffalo (100-) (RM)
1-Buffalo (100-Fat white male delegate to NYS CP convention
11/27-29/59 (RM) b6
1-Buffalo (100-Young white male, sandy hair, crew cut,
delegate to NYS CP convention, 11/27-29/59 (RM) b7C
b7D
1-Buffalo (100-15) () (RM)
1-Albany (100-2349)

AL 100-2349

BEN DAVIS presented a report on Friday evening - the keynote speech for the convention - on The Communist Party of New York State. The report lasted approximately 2½ hours and no copies were distributed. It contained nothing new or startling but noted that the Party was moving forward in its mass work, had been correct in its estimate of the 1958 elections and had made a contribution to the elections, criticized the Taft-Hartley law, as a device by employers to keep the working man in line and noted that the people were calling for a labor slate or for a third party. He called for an organization of the unorganized and noted that a Negro labor council is being formed by A. PHILIP RANDOLPH as a result of the denial of Negro rights at the CIO convention. He stated that a Youth Section had been organized in New York City and that a Youth Committee, which must develop a youth program, had been set up in the state organization.

It was then announced that comments concerning the report would be accepted from the floor. There were no disagreements by the speakers from the floor and everyone agreed that the report was very good and agreed with the main line.

One VIRGINIA, a white female from the Manhattan Section, 5'1", 95 to 100 pounds, medium build, gray hair, in her 50's, who commented that she was new in America, spoke, noting that few comrades are truly active in the Party and that we must get more action out of the CP. She stated that she (or her Section) had gotten 38 subs to "The Worker."

BELLA, a white female in her late 50's, 5', medium build, dark hair and glasses, also spoke, stating that we must get out and work for the Party and that the Party is working in her union and will get its quantity of subs and bundles. She wanted an increase in the sale of the paper on the street.

[redacted] stated that BEN's report had hit the nail on the head, spoke about the success of the Buffalo CP in television appearances and said the question of labor in New York needs more debate.

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BILL PATTERSON spoke, noting that he considers the report the best he has heard in 33 years. The Negro question is related to all questions and all movements and nothing can be

AL 100-2349

accomplished without first raising the level of the Negro and helping his fight for equality.

The next speaker, believed to be GEORGE MORRIS, wishes that there were more Negro and Puerto Rican delegates present in the Party because the Party needs more such comrades. DAVIS' report was not long enough and GEORGE could have listened to it all night. He noted that a women's commission is going to be established nationally.

A white male, Jewish in appearance, from Buffalo, and who may have been referred to as ED, early 30's, 5'5", 200 pounds, dark hair, was the next speaker, stating that the Party in Buffalo is doing great work and has organized the steel workers, recruiting two of them for the Party. The Buffalo Party has fought against the witch hunt there, has enlisted the aid of non-communist organizations to speak out against denial of civil rights, has caused the rehiring of two steel workers by reason of a militant fight and three more ex-steel workers are suing for their jobs and are on the verge of winning, and that literature is accepted by the workers at shop gates in Buffalo and steel workers there take Party leaflets in preference to union leaflets.

BILL ALBERTSON then spoke as the Executive Secretary and reported on the progress of the Party since the Right Wing element had withdrawn after the 1957 convention. He noted that March, 1958, was the turning point for the Party after having lost 73% of its membership because of revisionism and factionalism. The Party had to be rebuilt and new leadership elected, and since then, the Party has gained many who had left. The BEN DAVIS campaign helped the Party grow and put it in the public view. The Party did excellent work in and around New York City on schools, housing and jobs. The March on Washington and the hearings in Albany and in New York City on housing and jobs aided the organization. Twentyfive youth have joined the CP and 2000 membership is claimed now for the State. Party and non-Party people will form a Marxist-Leninist youth organization within the next two months. "The Worker" now has 1637 subs, a loss of 13 from last year, but there has been a loss of over 700 readers. The Party does not use the paper in their mass work, as they should. At least 6000 readers must be secured next year in order to reinstate the "Daily Worker." The fund drive is better than it was last year, but the goal has still not been reached. The Party must participate in primaries, in the forthcoming election

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to see that good candidates are selected or are added to the slate. The Party must also run Party candidates some place beside Harlem.

BETTY GANNETT followed with an Educational report. The Party needs to educate its members additionally and should have special educational meetings periodically. The comrades must read "The Worker" and other Marxist-Leninist literature and need to do a lot of reading in order to educate themselves. Each Section should have an education director.

There were many speakers, but because few individuals were taking notes, it was difficult to get the identities of these individuals. All of them agreed with BEN's report and no one had any criticism whatever concerning it. Additional speakers who were noted from the floor were:

JACK STACHEL



TED BASSETT




BILL WEINSTONE



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The main points in the discussion were to place peace as the number one issue and to vote for peace candidates in the elections. An anti-monopoly coalition of laborers, Negroes, Puerto Ricans and farmers must be organized. The circulation of the paper must be increased so that the people can get the Communist point of view and issues which the people are fighting for - housing, schools, rent control, lower taxes, shorter work week, higher unemployment benefits for an extended period - must be supported. The fight for Negro liberation must be supported.

The various Sections caucused at 5:30 PM to nominate delegates to the National Convention scheduled for December 10-13, 1959, at New York City. After the caucuses, BILL ALBERTSON announced that New York State was authorized 36 delegates and 14 alternates. He then announced the results. He stated that there were conflicts in the Bronx Section and the Industrial Section and that consequently additional nominations were authorized from the floor.  was nominated from the floor as a delegate from

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AL 100-2349

the Industrial Section and Unsub MONROE from the Bronx Section. This dispute was referred to the presiding committee and, after it met, BILL ALBERTSON announced that these two individuals had withdrawn their names from nomination and that consequently the elections that had been made in the respective caucuses prevailed. ALBERTSON then read off the names of the following delegates. ALBERTSON read the first name only. The identifications in parentheses are those made by the informant based upon his knowledge of the leadership of the New York State CP but cannot be construed as positive identifications of these delegates:

Manhattan Section

BEN DAVIS

[REDACTED]

PAUL (ROBESON)

[REDACTED]

TED (BASSETT)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

SHEPPY

JACK

DONNA - alternate

ART - alternate

Industrial Section

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER (ALBERTSON stated he would be unable however to attend)

IRVING (POTASH)

LOU (WEINSTOCK)

BILL (ALBERTSON)

[REDACTED]

NAT

[REDACTED]

ALFRED

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

ternate - alternate

IRWIN - alternate

BOB - alternate

ELIX - alternate

[REDACTED] - alternate

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Upstate Section

[REDACTED]

ED from Upstate - alternate

Nassau Section

[REDACTED] - alternate

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Westchester Section

[redacted] - alternate

Queens Section

[redacted] [redacted] WILL (WEINSTONE)
- alternate

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Brooklyn Section

JIM (TORMEY)
(JESUS) COLON
BILL (PATTERSON)

AGNES
[redacted]

(Informant was not clear as to who were alternates and who were delegates).

(A comparison with the 36 delegate-14 alternate figure originally announced indicates that Brooklyn probably would have 5 delegates and 1 alternate.)

Bronx Section

BETTY (GANNETT)
[redacted]

BELLA
[redacted]

ARGUS
LOUISE

EDITH - alternate

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Youth Section

MARVIN

JAKE

ED

(These individuals were identified as alternates but were not included in the 36-14 allotment. Twentyfive youth from all over the country are authorized as representatives to the National convention. The above three individuals come within this allotment.)

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The Upstate caucus consisted of [redacted] from Rochester, ED from Upstate, [redacted] the fat white man who may have been referred to as ED and who spoke from the floor and a young white man from Buffalo, mid 20's, 5'7", 155 to 160 pounds. medium build. sandy hair and crew cut. Inasmuch as Buffalo was the most active Upstate Section, it was agreed that Buffalo should have the delegate to the National convention.

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On Sunday, the discussion from the floor continued, everyone agreeing that the report was very good and outlined a program that was possible to achieve.

JIM JACKSON then took the floor pointing out that the DAVIS report was a very good report and agreed with the main line. He continued that we Communists should not be stereotyped but should be ordinary people and extraordinary Communists. We should fight on the everyday issues which confront the people.

JACK SHULMAN took the floor and strongly criticized JACKSON's remarks saying that JACKSON was trying to alter the DAVIS report and project a line of his own. SHULMAN said that his entire Manhattan delegation rejected JACKSON's line. A young comrade from Brooklyn - [redacted] - then got up and said that SHULMAN's remarks were insulting, non-political and non-communistic. b6
b7c

SHULMAN later asked for permission to speak and apologized to JACKSON and the convention and stated that his remarks were his own and did not reflect the thinking of the Manhattan delegation.

During the Sunday session, a resolution on labor was presented but it was so long that the convention voted to refer it to a special committee for rewriting and to be brought back to the reconvened session of the State convention on January 9, 1960, for action.

A book called "Inside the Khrushchev Era" was on sale for \$2.50. One delegate claimed that it was a great book and had helped him gain members for the Party and also to hold some who were on the verge of dropping out. He said he had sold 67 copies.

An issue of "Party Voice" was also distributed entitled "Pre-convention Discussion Bulletin," Number 2, dated November, 1959, and it contained the Harlem resolution on the Negro question. The last page was captioned "Disarmament - A Realizable Goal" from "a printers group."

During the Upstate caucus, GERTRUDE from Rochester stated there were now 7 members in her Rochester group. [redacted] from the Westchester Section stated that his Section now had approximately 50 registered CP members and that this represented a drop from a one time high of 100 registered CP members. b6
b7c

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The informant furnished a list of individuals whom he had observed in attendance at the New York State convention. He stated generally that these individuals were at each of the three sessions but that it was not possible for him to certify that each of them had been present at each session:

BILL ALBERTSON
BILL PATTERSON
BILL WEINSTONE
BEN DAVIS



JAMES JACKSON
EUGENE DENNIS
GEORGE MORRIS
JACK STACHEL
ALEX TRACHTENBERG

BOB THOMPSON



MORRIS SCHAPPES
ERIC BERT

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b7c

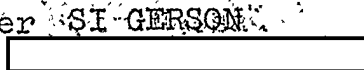


TED BASSETT



JIM TORMEY
PAUL ROBESON
IRVING POTASH
CONSTANTINE RADZIE

BILLY, the youngster and speaker from Nassau
JESUS COLON



LEADS FOR BUFFALO

Buffalo will attempt to identify, and furnish photographs to Albany for display to informant, the fat white male who may have been referred to as ED, and a young white man in his mid 20's, sandy hair with crew cut, who were in attendance at the Upstate caucus.

AL 100-2349

LEADS FOR NEW YORK

New York will attempt to identify, and furnish photographs to Albany for display to informant, the following:

The 6 individuals who may have been registering the delegates prior to the convention.

The female delegate from Nassau who carried Credential Card Alternate 20 and who appeared to be accompanying MANNY ROUSADA at the convention.

Unsub VIRGINIA from Manhattan County.

Unsub BELLA, speaker on Friday.

Unsub BILLY, probably from Nassau, speaker on Saturday.

No exhaustive investigation should be conducted to identify LEON, also known as MONROE inasmuch as this individual will be the subject of a separate communication.

F B I

Date: 12-8-59

Transmit the following in Plain text
(Type in plain text or code)

Via Air-tel
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: SAC, NEW YORK
FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS(100-2198)
COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
MEMBERSHIP
IS - C

Relet Bureau to New York and all offices
12-2-59.

No one has been registered into the CP during
1959. CP membership for Memphis Division should be listed as
zero. The zero membership is based on information furnished by

[redacted] Sources of Information-Security, all of whom were active
CP members in Memphis until it became inactive in 1957.

Note further that Bureau, by letter dated
2-19-58, instructed Memphis that in view of recent CP activity
in the Memphis territory, that Memphis in the future should
report CP membership figures as zero.

2 - New York RM
1 - Memphis(100-2198)
WHL:FJ
(3)

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- Airtel..... ✓
- Teletype.....
- A. M..... ✓
- A. M. S. D.....
- Spec. Del.....
- Reg. Mail.....
- Registered.....

100-20638-1665

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
DEC 10 1959
FBI - NEW YORK

413

Approved: JCH Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-128817)

SUBJECT: CP, USA MEMBERSHIP
 NY DISTRICT
 IS - C

DATE: 12/10/59

ReNYlet, 10/9/59.

As of 12/1/59, over-all statistics relative to active CP members in the NY Division are as follows:

(1) Estimated number of CP members 1917

2-Bureau (100-3-68) (RM)

1-NY 100-26603 (NY STATE CP) (416)

1-NY 100-26603-C40 (BRONX) (421)

1-NY 100-26603-C41 (QUEENS) (423)

1-NY 100-26603-C42 (NEW YORK) (424)

1-NY 100-26603-C42 (NEW YORK) (425) 421

1-NY 100-26603-C43 (KINGS) (422)

1-NY 100-26603-C44 (WESTCHESTER) (414)

1-NY 100-26603-C45 (NASSAU) (414)

1-NY 100-26603-C39 (RICHMOND) (414)

1-NY 100-132430 (INDUSTRIAL DIVISION) (42)

①-NY 100-80638 (CPUSA, Membership) (415)

1-New York (100-128817) (416)

RCB: mau
 (15)

100-80638-1666

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Waters

NY 100-128817

- | | | |
|-----|---|-----|
| (2) | Number of members identified since last progress letter. | 88 |
| (3) | Number of members identified to date. | 853 |
| (4) | Number tentatively identified as CP members since last progress letter. | 18 |
| (5) | Number tentatively identified as CP members to date. | 60 |

Statistics for each of the major Party breakdowns in this area are as follows:

("P" represents positive identification, "T" represents tentative identifications.)

(On 10/27/59, [redacted] made available a list attached to a form memorandum to be used to advise the sub-districts of the NY State CP of the number of State Convention delegates to which they were entitled on the basis of paid-up membership (dues turned into the State between October 1, 1958 and November, 1959). From an analysis of this material from [redacted] it is believed that the figures listed below in column "Paid-up Members as of 9/23/59" represent the paid-up dues members as of 9/23/59.)

b7D

NY 100-128817

Orga- niza- tion	Total 10/1/59 P/T	New Since 10/1/59 P/T	Deletions and Transfers P/T	Net Change P/T	Total 12/1/59 P/T	Esti- mated Current Member- ship	Paid-up Members As of 9/23/59
Bronx County	178/16	13/3	-8/-1	5/2	183/18	255	250
Kings County	134/14	18/0	3/0	21/0	155/14	319	227
Queens County	109/9	7/9	0/0	7/9	116/18	127	80
Richmond County*	7/0	0/0	-2/0	-2/0	5/0		
NY County	223/0	28/0	-14/0	14/0	237/0	511	455
Nassau County	14/3	2/0	0/-2	2/-2	16/1	67	58
West- chester County	11/0	2/0	-2/0	0/0	11/0	38	11
Indus- trial	120/4	18/6	-8/-1	10/5	130/9	600	484
Totals	796/46	88/18	-31/-4	57/14	853/60	1917	1565

* Richmond County is considered by CP as a section of NY County.

NY 100-128817

The basis for the Estimated Current Membership is set forth below.

On 11/16/59, [] estimated that approximately 255 CP members had registered in the Bronx County CP since January, 1959. According to [] as of 11/13-14/59, there were only 180 members of the Bronx County CP who were completely paid up in their dues through October, 1959.

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On 11/16/59, [] and on 11/18/59, [] advised that it was announced at the Kings County CP convention, 11/13-14/59, that the total membership in Brooklyn, NY (Kings County) is 306.

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On 11/27/59, [] estimated the CP membership in Queens County as being 120 - 130 members.

b7D

No estimate has been furnished for the Richmond County CP membership. It may be noted that Richmond County is regarded by the CP as a section of NY County CP.

On 11/14/59, NY 2720-S* advised that 700 was the estimated current membership of the Industrial Division CP. This information was furnished to the informant at the Industrial Division CP Convention on 11/14/59.

[] on 11/17/59, furnished a listing, respectively, of Dues, Membership, Delegates and Alternates, for various counties. This list set forth Membership as follows:

b7D

Manhattan (NY County)	521
Brooklyn (Kings)	253
Broxx	298
Queens	85
Industry	586
Nassau	53
Westchester	38
(Total)	1,834

NY 100-128817

Although the above list is undated, it is assumed to be reasonably recent since it apparently pertains to delegates to the current CP convention.

On 11/23/59, NY 2358-S* advised that at a meeting of the State Board, CP, on 11/23/59, WILLIAM ALBERTSON, CP, USA, NYD, Executive Secretary, reported on organization. ALBERTSON stated that "our membership is 2,010 members." (This figure would include upstate areas not covered by the NYO.) At this time, ALBERTSON also stated that using the 1955 - 1958 registration figures, the NYCP had lost 73% of its membership during that period. He listed the following figures in regard to registration (apparently based on the 1958 total registration):

Bronx 91%, Kings 109%, Queens 77%, New York 84%, Nassau 61%, Industrial 74%.

Utilizing the above percentages with the 1958 registration figures, the following results are obtained:

Bronx	91% of 270	:	245.7
Kings	109% of 292	:	318.2
Queens	77% of 150	:	115.5
New York	84% of 566	:	475.4
Nassau	61% of 100	:	61
Industrial	74% of 860	:	636.4

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C1918) (421)

DATE: 12 /11/5

FROM: SA JOHN A. HAAG (41)

SUBJECT: BRONX COUNTY CP
SOUTHWEST REGION
IS - C

- 1 - NY 100-122217 [redacted] (421)
- 1 - NY 100-130199 [redacted] (421)
- 1 - NY 100-55159 [redacted] (421)
- 1 - NY 100- [redacted] (SONIA LNU at meeting of SW Bronx Club, 11/17/5
per [redacted] (421))
- 1 - NY 100-102654 [redacted] (412)
- 1 - NY 100-134953 [redacted] (421)
- 1 - NY 100-102950 [redacted] (421)
- 1 - NY 100-71200 [redacted] (421)
- 1 - NY 100-122216 [redacted] (421)
- 1 - NY 100-135098 [redacted] (421)
- 1 - NY 100-83781 [redacted] (421)
- 1 - NY 100-16785 (JIM JACKSON) (415)
- 1 - NY 100-128804 (CP, USA Youth Matters, NYD) (416)
- 1 - NY 100-128815 (CP, USA Negro Question, NYC) (416)
- 1 - NY 100-80638 (CP, USA Membership) (415)
- 1 - NY 100-26603-C1918 (421)

b6
b7C
b7D

JAH: jn
(17)

100-80638-1667

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
DEC 11 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

[Handwritten signatures and initials over the stamp]

NY 100-26603-C1918

Identity of Source [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past (conceal)

Description of info Meeting of SW Bronx Club, 11/17/59, at Apt.2B, 1320 Grant Avenue, Bronx, NY

b7D

Date received 12/1/59

Received by SA JOHN A. HAAG (written)

Original location [redacted]

A copy of informant's written report follows:

NY 100-26603-C1918

Nov. 22/59

Those who attended the C.P. club meeting of Nov. 17/59 at the apt. of [redacted] apt. 2B were - [redacted]

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[redacted] husband sat in on the meeting but did not tak_ any part in it.

The agenda-Report on the County convention by [redacted] [redacted] also had a report but after [redacted] gave ger report she said [redacted] had covered it so well that she saw no reason to say anything else.

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At the convention the delegates chosen were [redacted] Alternates were [redacted] made it plain that the delegates and alternates are elected by the Section committee at section meetings. [redacted] said that the big job and most important of all is the struggle for peace. That KHRUSHCHEV's visit had broken down the cold war barrier so that we will be able to work with all people on all fronts, until we have one solid front for peace.

b6
b7C

The Youth question is vital. That juvenile delinquency was nothing more than youth's revolt against bad conditions, poverty, and the feeling that they are potential war material. That it is important to get to the young people and build up a youth vangard of youth in the C.P. to work for peace.

Speaking of the Bronx. She said that the Negro population of the Bronx had increased in the last year. That the largest population group in the Bronx was the Jews. With all of the problems of the people of all nationalities in the Bronx and the problems of discrimination in housing and schools there is no reason for lack of work to do in the 1960 elections. The club members must find their way to these people with the peace program - work with Negro - Puerto Ricans and in any organization where people meet to thrash out their problems. The C.P. wants the clubs built up with closer contact with the State and County.

NY 100-26603-C1918

[] said that JIM JACKSON has given a fine report on the C.P. building among youth.. That he said we must improve our relationship with the youth and keep in daily contact with them. That isolation for the young is destructable. We need to have more responsibility for the Civil Liberties. Here she proposed that a telegram be sent-or a night letter-to the Governor asking him to keep [] here. It was decided that [] would send the telegram or night letter from a telephone booth. She would write it out and add all the club members names to it.

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[] said that the County had already set up a few commissions on mass work. Each section is to bring in new members or try to bring back old ones who have dropped out and they are wanted before the convention. (State-or National) Watch for indications of left leanings and give these people the Worker and talk about peace to them. Speak openly where possible. Pay more attention to individual comrades and help them find their nitvch in C.P. work. Work especially hard among the Negroes and Puerto Ricans as we now have too many all white clubs.

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[] from notes she had made - That in the Bronx there are very few rich people. Most of the Bronxites are working people with many problems.

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We can find much to do in the tenants council. Help organize special clinic for tenants. Work on the school problem of segregation and raise other aspects for new laws for the protection of tenants. Work with SCAD in the effort to break down segregation in hiring. She pointed out that through SCAD 9 stores in Fordam and Sears had hired Negroes, in "front" jobs.

Work to run C.P. candidate in the Bronx. There is a vacancy for Congressman. The Liberal Party had 51,000 votes in the primaries. We want to be able to run a known communist candidate.

The Party will set up a forum to speak on the C.P. openly in the Bronx. We want to bring the people face to face with the C.P.

NY 100-26603-C1918

We must have an educational director and more active press. Workers are sold daily in the Bronx. (1600) When it is possible to do so watch and see who buys these papers and talk to the readers.

HI LUMER resolution (see P.A.) was accepted by the County Committee members. (Voted on)

The C.P. age level - 90% are over 45 years old. Many as old as 60 to 70. Average length of time in the C.P. - 15 years or more. Very few have come in in the past 10 years. It is 85% Jewish. There is 1 Italian. 2 Puerto Ricans-2 Hungarians-1 Negro-2 youth-(MYRON and MATTIE) (only names mentioned).

The State Convention expects at least 100 youth to come from the Socialist youth groups in Philadelphia and Chicago.-----

[redacted] wanted to have a vote on the merging of the clubs. [redacted] objected as there were so few there but EDITH gave the argument that all members are never at one meeting and if they wait until they are all together we will never get the subject finished. They voted to merge the clubs. It was accepted as most all things are accepted when [redacted] expresses the desire to have it done. She always says that "they" want this done.

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[redacted]-Her hair is firey red. Evidently dyed. it is black in the back. Lots of make-up. Eyes look black. No glasses. She said she was a secretary for a 65 local. Told about a Negro girl who works with her and said she would like to bring her to a meeting. She said the Negro girl was "up on things" and understood the importance of CHRUSHCHEV's visit and showed left leanings but neither had ever actually spoken about the C.P. [redacted] told her that it is just possible that the girl is already a C.P. member. She said they would check to find out. But [redacted] is not to bring her to a meeting. Instead she is to give her things to read and wait. [redacted] spoke up and said that we had to be very carefull as the F.B.I. is sending in spies and some have been found out. She mentioned a [redacted] from the west coast who had been a spy.

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The next meeting will be in [redacted] apt. Nov. 1st. Plans for a party (Fund drive) in [redacted] home has been postponed.

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12/14/59

AIRTEL

..AIR MAIL..

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, SAVANNAH (61-19)

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
MEMBERSHIP
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

(OO NY)

Rebulet to New York dated 12/2/59.

In accordance with instructions contained in
relet, the following is submitted.

TOTAL CP MEMBERSHIP

1. The current estimate of CP membership within
the Savannah Division is one.

TOTAL MALE AND FEMALE

2. There is only one female member within the
Savannah Division, and she is currently residing in South
Carolina. There are no known CP members in Georgia within
the Savannah Division.

RACE

She is of the Negroid race.

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
 - 2 - New York (100-80638) (RM)
 - 1 - Savannah
- WFE/ba
(6)

cc in 100-131666-Sub N

*J. W. [unclear]
(415)*

100-80638-1668

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
DEC 16 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Wales

SV 61-19

OCCUPATION

4. She is a student at Benedict College, Columbia,
S. C.

VETERANS

5. There are no known members of the CP who are
veterans.

UNION AFFILIATION

6. There is no known union affiliation with the
membership.

This is the only individual identified during the
preceding 12-month period.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3)

DATE: 12/18/59

FROM : SAC, ALBANY (100-18106)

SUBJECT: CP, USA
17TH NATIONAL CONVENTION
IS-C

[redacted] attended the Saturday and Sunday ^{b7D} sessions of the 17th National Convention held at the Hotel Theresa on 12/12 and 12/13/59. He reported the proceedings to SA ROBERT E. MARGISON on 12/15/59, his report filed [redacted]. Informant is reliable.

- cc: 2 - Bureau (100-3)(RM)
- 1 - New York (100-80641-SUB B)(RM)
- 1 - New York (100-80638)(CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP)(RM)
- 1 - New York (100-BETTY GANNETT)(RM)
- 1 - New York (100-103907)[redacted](RM)
- 1 - New York (100-WOMEN'S MATTERS)(RM)
- 1 - New York (100-84275)(BILL PATTERSON)(RM)
- 1 - New York (97-169)(FREEDOM OF THE PRESS)(RM)
- 1 - New York (100-JACK STACHEL)(RM)
- 1 - New York (100-129629)(BILL ALBERTSON)(RM)
- 1 - New York (100-80644)(YOUTH MATTERS)(RM)
- 1 - New York (100-FUNDS)(RM)
- 1 - New York (100-64074)[redacted](RM)
- 1 - New York (100-23825)(BEN DAVIS, JR.)(RM)
- 1 - New York (100-GUS HALL)(RM)
- 1 - New York (100-[redacted])(RM)
- 1 - Buffalo (100-10454)[redacted](RM)
- 1 - Chicago (100-GERALDINE LIGHTFOOT)(RM)
- 1 - Chicago (100-JAMES WEST)(RM)
- 1 - Detroit (100-[redacted])(RM)
- 1 - Newark (100-PAT TOOHEY)(RM)
- 1 - Philadelphia (100-THOMAS NABRIED)(RM)
- 1 - San Francisco (100-ARCHIE BROWN)(RM)
- 1 - San Francisco (100-JUANITA, LNU)(RM)
- [redacted]
- 1 - Albany (100-18106)

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b7D

REM:pab

(30)

J. Waters

100-80638-1669

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
DEC 21 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

[Signature]

sk

AL 100-18106

Informant stated that the Saturday Session got underway at about 10:30 AM with [redacted] in the Chair.

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He stated that a report on membership was given and that the best estimate of actual registered members was 6,000. The speaker indicated that the inactive and non-registered individuals who were considered members would place the current estimated CP membership throughout the country at 10,000.

The first speaker from the floor was BETTY GANNETT, who spoke to the effect that we must popularize socialism and educate the masses so that they can see that their immediate need is socialism. She stated that the only salvation for the masses is to overthrow the capitalist system and turn toward socialism.

[redacted] from Detroit followed, stating that a new form of leadership for the CP is being considered. He suggested that each CP area have a Council to be composed of the Club Chairmen within the area and the members of the CP State Committee belonging to the Clubs in the area. This Council would be designed to influence self-leadership, to make policy and carry it out in line with the State and National line.

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[redacted] from Buffalo followed, noting that a new kind of unity existed in the Party this year and that this has been most evident in all of the conventions in which he has participated. He said that 10,000 people were protesting the increased taxes in the Buffalo area; that the Negroes had marched on Buffalo's City Hall on the housing situation; that the comrades must build up the Party; and that there are study groups being held currently in Buffalo on Marxism-Leninism. He presented a resolution concerning the necessity for building the Party and advocating a recruiting drive and the Convention adopted his resolution.

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GERALDINE LIGHTFOOT of Chicago spoke next, stating that she had joined a mass women's organization in Chicago and had received a warm welcome even though she was

AL 100-18106

publicly known as a Communist. She said that the club members respected Communism and that she hoped to recruit through her mass base.

TOM NABRIED from Eastern Pennsylvania announced that the Party in Philadelphia had gotten together with outside forces and had elected a Negro as a vice president into a previously all-white union leadership.

[redacted] followed, reading a letter from a political science group at Columbia College in New York City requesting the CP to set a date for a Party official to debate the question with college students as to whether the CP has a place in the United States.

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JUANITA from the West Coast followed with a resolution on women and their work, both in and out of the Party. She noted that the lowest wages were paid to Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican workers and that their housing was very poor. She presented a resolution which was adopted that the National create a Women's Commission.

[redacted] followed with a talk on the Woman Question and criticized the New York State organization for lagging in this field.

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BILL PATTERSON followed and gave a report on "The Worker" and proposed the creation of a Mid-West edition. He stated that "The Worker" needs \$10,000.00 immediately and that the goal of \$75,000.00 has not been reached. He advocated starting a new drive in January and stated that the Party must have press committees in all sections of the country.

JACK STACHEL proposed that the "Daily Worker" be re-established by 1960. He characterized the paper as a "must, without which the Party cannot survive." Readers must be increased to 20,000 or 25,000. He sees a great future for the Party and stated that it has become more united with each convention. The issues facing the CP have become more clear.

The afternoon session started with GERALDINE LIGHTFOOT in the Chair.

AL 100-18106

BILL ALBERTSON presented a report on behalf of the Youth Committee, noting that American youth is on the upsurge and that Party youth is increasing at a terrific rate. He wants youth represented on all Party committees, wants a Youth Committee created and he wants the Party to organize Marxist-Leninist groups for youth who are not in the Party.

The Sunday morning session convened with [redacted] as Chairman.

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NAT ROSENBLUTH chaired the Sunday afternoon session.

A financial report was presented by a representative of an Auditing Committee in which it was stated that in 1957 the CP had a total income of \$176,000.00 and wound up \$1,844.00 in the hole; the 1958 income was \$133,832. and there was a plus balance of \$2,471.00 at the end of 1958; the report for the first nine months of 1959 reflected that \$92,812.00 had been taken in and there was a plus balance of \$2,489.00, although there were liabilities outstanding of \$11,000.00.

JUAN SANTOS RIVIERA, the President of the Communist Party of Puerto Rico, then addressed the Convention noting that he had been invited but that, although he accepted the invitation by telegram, he had not been met at the airport. Consequently, he took a taxi to his sister's home in New York and, when alighting, was struck by a car and hospitalized for two days. He read a statement from the CP of Puerto Rico in Spanish and JESUS COLON translated it into English. The report greeted the American CP and promised solidarity with it.

PAT TOOHEY made a speech of welcome to RIVIERA, noting that Puerto Rico was fighting for its independence, that the CP of Puerto Rico was doing great work in this regard, and the CP, USA, was behind it.

TOOHEY then presented RIVIERA with a bouquet of flowers, left over from yesterday's Convention, as a gift from the Garment Workers in New York. RIVIERA burst into tears at this startling presentation.

AL 100-18106

The informant noted that BEN DAVIS, ARCHIE BROWN and GUS HALL shared the platform with RIVIERA, COLON and TOOHEY.

The remainder of the afternoon on Sunday was devoted to the selection of nominees for the National Committee. This has been reported in detail in separate communication.

Informant noted that the Convention Hall was ringed with various banners proclaiming the following objectives:

"FOR THE THIRTY HOUR WEEK"

"FOR A DAILY WORKER IN 1960"

"FULL EQUALITY FOR NEGRO EQUALITY"

"BUILD THE CP -- THE PARTY OF SOCIALISM"

"BUILD CIRCULATION OF THE WORKER"

"FOR DISARMAMENT, PEACE AND CO-EXISTENCE"

"AMNESTY FOR GREEN, WINSTON AND THOMPSON"

"SUPPORT YOUR NAACP"

New York Office requested to forward copy for
 file to appropriate office.

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OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603)

DATE: 12/22/59

FROM: SA [redacted] (#416)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - NYD
IS-C

[redacted]

- 1 - NY 100-125874 (424)
- 1 - NY 100-114066 (424)
- 1 - NY 100-50842 (424)
- 1 - NY 100-16021 (415)
- 1 - NY 100-95550 (ARNOLD JOHNSON) (421)
- 1 - NY 100-54555 (PAUL ROBESON, JR.) (421)

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- 1 - NY 100-67234 (424)
- 1 - NY 100-134884
- 1 - NY 100-110510
- 1 - NY 100-136394
- 1 - NY 100-133542

1 - NY 100-73561 (ABE UNGER) (416)

- 1 - NY 100-62955
- 1 - NY 100-43414
- 1 - NY 105-24891
- 1 - NY 100-82863
- 1 - NY 100-228
- 1 - NY 100-57965
- 1 - NY 100-111666
- 1 - NY 100-79025
- 1 - NY 100-129758
- 1 - NY 100-117546
- 1 - NY 100-62847
- 1 - NY 100-68063
- 1 - NY 100-66715

1 - NY 100-23825 (BEN DAVIS) (416)

- 1 - NY 100-64187
- 1 - NY 100-82206 (424)
- 1 - NY 100-133660 (424)
- 1 - NY 100-82206 (424)
- 1 - NY 100-8033 (424)

COPIES CONTINUED ON SECOND PAGE

1 - NY 100-26603 (416)

EMA:mm1
(54)

100-80638-1670

SEARCHED [initials] INDEXED [initials]
SERIALIZED [initials] FILED [initials]
DEC 23 1959
J. H. [initials]
415

NY 100-26603

Identity of Source: [redacted] who has furnished reliable info in past (conceal)

Description of Info: CPUSA - NY COUNTY CONVENTION, Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave., NYC, 11/20,21,22/59

b6
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Date Received: 11/25/59

Received by: SA [redacted] (oral)

Original Location: [redacted]

Info received from informant, as reflected above, was received on a magnetic tape on 11/25/59. It was transcribed on 12/1/59 by MARGARET M. LYONS and was corrected, initialed and signed by [redacted] on 12/4/59.

b7D

A copy of informant's oral report follows:

COPIES CONTINUED

- 1 - NY 100-18065 (JACK STACHEL) (415)
- 1 - NY 100-88013 [redacted] (424)
- 1 - NY 100- [redacted] (ANN LNU, WF, 28, 5'7", 130 lbs., chairman, Chelsea CP club, seen at NY County Convention per [redacted] possibly [redacted] (424)
- 1 - NY 100-98523 [redacted] (424)
- 1 - NY 100-1696 (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN) (415)
- 1 - NY 100- [redacted] (ANITA LNU, seen at NY County CP Convention, per [redacted] (412)
- 1 - NY 100-133510 [redacted] (41)
- 1 - NY 100- [redacted] (ESTHER LNU, seen at NY County CP Convention, per [redacted] (412)
- 1 - NY 100-137939 [redacted] (425)
- 1 - NY 100-135728 [redacted] (424)
- 1 - NY 100-67995 [redacted] (424)
- 1 - NY 100-86066 [redacted] (41)
- 1 - NY 100-9369 [redacted] (421)
- 1 - NY 100-44781 (TED BASSETT) (424)
- 1 - NY 100-80638 (CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP) (415)
- 1 - NY 100-4931 (CP, USA) (415)
- 1 - NY 100-26603 (CP, USA - NYD) (416)
- 1 - NY 100-128804 (CP, USA - YOUTH MATTERS, NYD) (416)
- 1 - NY 100-133594 (FSS) (41)
- 1 - NY 100-89691 (CP, USA - DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION ISSUES) (415)

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November 22, 1959

Time: 8:00 p.m.
Friday, November 20, 1959

Place: Adelphi Hall,
74 Fifth Avenue
New York City

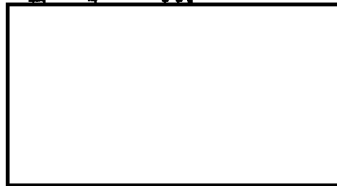
Event: CP County Convention

Attendance: Approximately 75

Identified:



Paul Robeson, Jr.



Abe Unger

Philip LNU, Negro, male, about 45



Arthur LNU, Washington Heights Section Organizer,
member of the County, United States
Navy, tattoo right arm - initials
USN

June LNU, white, female, 60, 5'3", white hair,
involved with Jewish women's clubs
as mass organizational worker

Donna LNU, white, female, 57, 5'1", 105 pounds,
black hair, County Committee



Mildred LNU, Negro, female, 40, 5'7", horse
voice, 210 pounds, hair on face,
Harlem Club

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Jose LNU, white, male, 35, 5'5", 140 pounds,
Spanish accent

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[redacted]
Leon LNU, Harlem Section, Negro, male,
45, 5'8", light skin

Clara M., white, female, 50, 5'6",
worked in CP activities,
Miami, Florida, eight years

Ann LNU, chairman, Chelsea CP Club,
white, female, 28, 5'7", 130 pounds,
somewhat pretty

Shevra LNU, white, female, 55, mannish looking,
5'3", 145 pounds

The keynote speaker was [redacted] She spoke on all phases of Party activity. This included some remarks on the Party, capitalism, the Negro question, the resolutions of the Draft Resolution Committee. She gave a picture of the general atmosphere of current times both negative and positive. Some of the resolutions discussed by [redacted] were labor policy and relationship of Party forces, an evaluation of the work being done in New York County, the Governorship of Rockefeller and his vast holdings were stated in detail giving statistics.

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The outline of the evening was first the election of Secretary, the election of standing committees which included a presiding committee, a resolutions committee.

Discussion then opened in a general way with most people stating how happy they were that the revisionists had not taken over or destroyed the Party.

Jose LNU told about his transfer from Lower Harlem to Upper Harlem and his fight with the ultra-leftists and revisionists. He said they called on the Party for leadership and it never came. The program for the next two days, Saturday and Sunday, was given.

Saturday program is:

Ten-to-ten

Morning session begins;
Resume discussion on [redacted]
[redacted] keynote talk; housing
commission report; speech by
Elizabeth Gurley Flynn;

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Lunch at 1:00 p.m.

Come back at 2:00 p.m. Organizational report - Ben
Davis will give a short talk;

Parent's work discussion rest
of the day until 6:00 p.m.

Sunday:

Meeting starts at
Ten-to-ten

10:00 to 11:00

Resolutions Committee;
Discussion and adoption of
resolutions;

Break for lunch -
1:00 to 2:00

2:00 p.m.

Recommendations to County
Leadership Committee

4:00 p.m.

Elections until 5:00 p.m.

The delegations to the State Convention are as follows:

39 for Manhattan County, four are already held by National Committee delegates, and so that leaves 35, one delegate allowed for each fifteen members.

The Harlem and Youth Sections will be entitled to two delegates.

Saturday

Time: 10 a.m., November 21, 1959

Place: Adelphi Hall,
74 Fifth Avenue,
New York City

Event: Second day of New York County Convention

Attendance: In the morning session - 60;
afternoon - 75

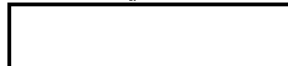
Identified:



Arnold Johnson
Paul Robeson, Jr.



Abe Unger
Philip LNU, Negro, male, 45



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Arthur LNU, USN tattoo right arm, Section
Organizer Washington Heights,
three months

June LNU, mass org work Jewish women's organizational
[redacted]

Mildred LNU, Negro, female, 190-210 pounds
Jose LNU, white, male, 35, 5'5", 140 pounds,
Spanish accent
[redacted]

Leon LNU, Harlem, Negro, male, 45, light skin, 5'8"
Jim LNU, County Education Director, 35, 5'7",
mustache, 140-145 pounds

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[redacted]
Clara M., white, female, 50, 5'6"
Donna LNU
[redacted]

Ann LNU, Chelsea, white, female, 28, 130 pounds,
somewhat pretty
Art, Lower East Side, Negro, male, 30, wisp of
beard, Faculty of Social Science and
YSA Parties

Jack Stachel
Sophie LNU
Rita LNU
Elizabeth Gurley Flynn
Anita LNU
Regina LNU

One of the first speakers was June LNU of the
County Committee. She spoke on Jewish question. She said
Jews are not middle class as many of them tend to think but
are workers subject to the same pressures as all workers are.
Jack Stachel said the Party must be united from within. He
said peace is essential above all else and we must not give
up the fight for peace as suggested by Abe Unger the preceding
evening, who in his speech said that peace had been won.

Jack Stachel then spoke. He said he was a member of the YCL about 35 years ago. He took exception to Oakley Johnson's speech of the preceding evening where Mr. Oakley Johnson compared the Soviet Union with the United States and showed how in every way the Soviet Union was better. Jack Stachel said that there are many good things about the United States, the steel workers for one and Winston and Green and the hospital strikers.

Donna LNU of the County Committee talked about the peace commission. She said peace work should go on among youth; that a resolution in support of disarmament proposal to be sent to President Eisenhower; that we should campaign for permanent ^{ban} nuclear tests. Agencies should be set up to protect people from radiation; an educational campaign should be set up on disarmament using Krushchev's pamphlet and there must be increased work in peace organizations.

Art LNU gave a speech about the section in Washington Heights. He said his club is supporting the Faculty of Social Science. He cited the need for attendance counsel. He told of the possibility of the committee to combat prejudice starting up in his area and he said that revisionism must not be tolerated at all.

[redacted] gave a report on the housing commission. He said failure to build low cost housing created a problem. He cited discrimination as a factor in housing. Discrimination of poor people for luxury housing and he said a moratorium should be declared on all housing except that for low cost housing.

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Jim LNU gave a speech and one of his points was that Negro women were lacking in the Party.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn gave a speech and stated that there was no two-way traffic between leadership and rank and file. She noted that many times the rank and file show too much deference to leadership and especially in New York. She is never invited to section functions and the like.

Leon in Harlem talked about his section on the Negro Draft Resolution. They consider the draft resolution inadequate and said there should be a Negro labor alliance and coordinating of Negro organizations. He said the world opinion is against racism in the United States. He claimed the NAACP is not representative of the Negro people. The draft resolution, said Leon, does not deal with reality. He said Negro people should not be in the lead but white people should do that task. He said that the draft resolution tells of a change in the psychological conditions in the country. Actually it is not psychological conditions that have changed but the tactical situation.

[redacted] then spoke of world proletarianism. He said that competition created by the Soviet Union will also aid the American worker.

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At the afternoon session [redacted] gave the County Organizational report. She gave statistics on various aspects of the County. Ruth said that there were nine sections and five special sections, a total of fourteen, youth being considered a special section, for example, and the total of 35 clubs in the county.

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Ann LNU of Chelsea spoke on youth problems. She spoke out against the formation of youth organizations at this moment. She spoke of her activities in the LYL.

Esther LNU of Manhattan County gave a talk on schools.

Time: 9:50 a.m., Sunday, November 22

Place: Adelphi Hall,
74 Fifth Avenue

Event: Third day of Manhattan County Convention

Attendance: Approximately 60

Identified were:

June LNU

 (W-F-32)

Clara M.

Regina LNU, press director; Upper West Side

Myra LNU, Lower East Side

Ethel, from the Lower East Side, white, female,
40, 5'3", 175 pounds, ugly

Ann of Chelsea

Art, Lower East Side, Negro, male, 30, wisp of beard,
Faculty of Social Science, seen at
YSA parties.



Arnold Johnson

Donna LNU

Artie, Washington Heights, USN tattoo

Ted of Harlem

Leon LNU, Harlem

Shevra LNU of Lower East Side

Abe Unger

Elizabeth LNU, white, female, 60, about 170 pounds,
white hair, Un-American Activities
Committee witness

Jack Stachel

b6
b7c

Sophie LNU

[REDACTED]
Millie LNU

[REDACTED]
Elizabeth Gurley Flynn
Anita LNU
Rita LNU
Clara from Lower East Side

b6
b7C

The first resolution, the gist of which, is that the central task of the National Committee should be a program of peace. The American people must be educated in the devices used by the bourgeoisie to dominate. They should struggle against imperialism in Latin America, an open door to China, and trade with all Socialist countries.

Clara M. at this point made an impassioned speech. She said that these things should be spelled out; how the Americans supported Batista, the crimes, the overthrow of the Guatamala Regime, Peron.

Abe Unger then gave a resolution on the legality of the Party. He said that the Party should function openly and actively; that the functionaries should engage in open activities; that the rank and file should engage in open activities; that the Landrum-Griffin Bill must be fought; that challenge all laws that are anti-Party; that Congressional hearings should be used as a platform from which to fight those who want to make the Party illegal and that there should be repeal of all unions' constitutions discriminating against Communists. He also stated and created quite a hassle by stating that the Fifth Amendment should not be used when going before the Un-American Activities Committee but rather the First Amendment in an effort to fight the stigma of illegality. However, this created quite a hassle on the floor from the rank and file, who claimed the Fifth

Amendment was their only protection; that people have gone to jail when they used the First Amendment. Abe was asked to make up another resolution which he did. This came before the rank and file and the convention during the afternoon in a watered down version stating that the Fifth Amendment could be used by the rank and file in an effort to save off jail but that the First Amendment would be more preferable.

A special resolution added to those previous was that the FBI harassment of members should cease.

There were other resolutions on the Negro question and youth, both of which were previously mentioned on the last two days and were nothing but rehashes of these two resolutions. Then came the voting for the new County Committee.

County Committee remains the same as previous with the exception of a new member, Clara M.; also Chelsea has been invited to send a member to Staten Island; youth has also been invited to send a member.

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Elections for the State Committee were then held. 39 members, nine alternates were chosen as delegates to the State Convention.

The County Convention then ended promptly at 6:00 p.m.

* * * * *

[redacted] orally advised SA [redacted] on 12/10/59, that ANN LNU from Chelsea who is referred to in the above reports is [redacted]

OFFICE MEMORANDUM . UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69) ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DATE: 12-22-59
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741) ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
- ORGANIZATION
IS - C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, on December 14, 1959, orally advised SA [redacted] of information pertaining to the Communist Party, USA (CP) 17th National Convention, which was held at the Theresa Hotel, 125th and 7th Avenues, New York City. b6
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ This oral information was written up in narrative report form and subsequently returned to [redacted] for his approval and signature. The signed original narrative report is located in [redacted] b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ [redacted] on December 14, 1959, made copies of all documents set forth on pages 2-3 of the attached report available for photostating. A photostat copy of these documents will be retained in the Chicago Office. The information contained in these documents has not been set forth in this report because of the length of these documents. b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ A request has been made by separate communication to the New York Office requesting that copies of photographs of persons believed to have been in attendance at the 17th National Convention be made available to Chicago informants who attended this Convention. When these photographs are available, they will be exhibited to [redacted] as he indicated there were many people in attendance at the CP, USA National Convention whom he could not identify by name. b7D

- 17 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - 100-3-68 (CP, USA - Membership)
- 1 - 100-3-63 (CP, USA - Funds)
- 1 - 100-3-88 (CP, USA - Factionalism)
- 1 - 100-3-81 (CP, USA - International Relations)
- 1 - 100-3-72 (CP, USA - Political Activities)
- 1 - 100-3-70 (CP, USA - Legislative Activities)
- 1 - 100-3-83 (CP, USA - Domestic Administration Issues)
- 1 - 100-3-89 (CP, USA - Strategy in Industry)
- 1 - 100-3-75 (CP, USA - Negro Question)
- 1 - 100-3-76 (CP, USA - Youth Matters)
- 1 - 100-3-78 (CP, USA - Women's Matters)
- 1 - 100-3-79 (CP, USA - Farmers' Matters)

Copies Continued on Pages i through v.

REB:MAM
(160)

CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY 9629 8/14/79
REASON FOR EXTENSION
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 12/22/79

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-80638-1671
SEARCHED [initials]
SERIALIZED [initials]
DEC 28 1959
#418
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CG 100-33741

(Bureau copies continued)

- 1 - 100-3-91 (CP, USA - Nationality Groups Commission)
- 1 - 100-3-86 (CP, USA - Pamphlets and Publications)
- 1 - 100-3-71 (CP, USA - Education)
- 3 - Baltimore (RM)
 - 1 - 100-12076 (GEORGE MEYERS)
 - 1 - 100- [redacted]
 - 1 - 100- (CP, USA - Organization)
- 2 - Boston (RM)
 - 1 - 100-775 (HOMER CHASE)
 - 1 - 100- (CP, USA - Organization)
- 2 - Buffalo (RM)
 - 1 - 100-10454 [redacted]
 - 1 - 100- (CP, USA - Organization)
- 3 - Cleveland (RM)
 - 1 - 100- (ANTON KRCHMAREK)
 - 1 - 100-222 (ED. CHAKA)
 - 1 - 100- (CP, USA - Organization)
- 8 - Detroit (RM)
 - 1 - 100-807 [redacted]
 - 1 - 100-13420 (CARL WINTER)
 - 1 - 100-13740 (HELEN WINTER)
 - 1 - 100- (Unsub, Male Speaker From Detroit on Party Organization)
 - 1 - 100- (Unsub, Male Speaker on Youth Question)
 - 1 - 100- (Unsub, Male Speaker From Detroit on Trade Union Question)
 - 1 - 100-8482 [redacted]
 - 1 - 100- (CP, USA - Organization)
- 3 - Indianapolis (RM)
 - 1 - 100-9529 (MANNY BLUM)
 - 1 - 100- [redacted]
 - 1 - 100- (CP, USA - Organization)
- 10 - Los Angeles (RM)
 - 1 - 100-24766 [redacted]
 - 1 - 100- (Unsub, Male Speaker on Mexican Situation)
 - 1 - 100- [redacted]
 - 1 - 100- [redacted]
 - 1 - 100- (PETTIS PERRY)
 - 1 - 100- [redacted]
 - 1 - 100- (CP, USA - Organization)
 - 1 - 100- [redacted]
 - 1 - 100-4486 (DOROTHY HEALEY)
 - 1 - 100-4663 (BEN DOBBS) - ii -

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CG 100-33741

2 - Milwaukee (RM)

- 1 - 100-4 (FRED BLAIR)
- 1 - 100- (CP, USA - Organization)

4 - Minneapolis (RM)

- 1 - 100- [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100- 1902 (CLARENCE HATHAWAY)
- 1 - 100- (CP USA - Organization)
- 1 - 100-371 [REDACTED]

2 - Newark (RM)

- 1 - 100-79491 (PAT TOOHEY)
- 1 - 100- (CP, USA - Organization)

50 - New York (RM)

- 1 - 100- 23825 (BEN DAVIS, Jr.)
- 1 - 100- 16021 (ARNOLD JOHNSON)
- 1 - 100- 13483 (BETTY GANNETT)
- 1 - 100- 54555 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100- 84275 (WILLIAM L. PATTERSON)
- 1 - 100- 18065 (JACK STACHEL)
- 1 - 100- 228 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100- 56579 (PHIL BART)
- 1 - 100- 84995 (GUS HALL)
- 1 - 100- 559 (JESUS COLON)
- 1 - 100- 95550 (PAUL ROBESON, Jr.)
- 1 - 100- 118174 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100- (EUGENE DENNIS)
- 1 - 100- 16785 (JIM JACKSON)
- 1 - 100- 105078 (HY LUMER)
- 1 - 100- 1696 (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN)
- 1 - 100- 48033 (IRVING POTASH)
- 1 - 100- 9595 (WILL WEINSTONE)
- 1 - 100- 25623 (ERIC BERT)
- 1 - 100- 13473 (SI GERSON)
- 1 - 100- 13444 (JOE NORTH)
- 1 - 100- 13203 (GEORGE MORRIS)
- 1 - 100- 79025 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100- [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100- 129629 (BILL ALBERTSON)
- 1 - 100- 15946 (JIM TORMEY)
- 1 - 100- [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100- (HENRY WINSTON)
- 1 - 100- 64074 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100- 26018 (LOUIS WEINSTOCK)
- 1 - 100- ("The Worker")
- 1 - 100- (Amnesty for GIL GREEN and HENRY WINSTON)
- 1 - 100- (CP, USA - Membership)
- 1 - 100- (CP, USA - Funds)
- 1 - 100- (CP, USA - Factionalism)
- 1 - 100- (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER)

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(New York copies continued)

- 1 - 100- (CP, USA - International Relations)
- 1 - 100- (CP, USA - Political Activities)
- 1 - 100- (CP, USA - Legislative Activities)
- 1 - 100- (CP, USA - Domestic Administration Issues)
- 1 - 100- (CP, USA - Strategy in Industry)
- 1 - 100- (CP, USA - Negro Question)
- 1 - 100- (CP, USA - Youth Matters)
- 1 - 100- (CP, USA - Women's Matters)
- 1 - 100- (CP, USA - Farmers' Matters)
- 1 - 100- (CP, USA - Nationality Groups Commission)
- 1 - 100- (CP, USA - Pamphlets and Publications)
- 1 - 100- (CP, USA - Education)
- 1 - 100- (CP, USA - Brief to Establish Illegal Status)
- 1 - 100- (CP Attempts to Infiltrate Mass Organizations)

3 - Philadelphia (RM)

- 1 - 100- (TOM NABRIED)
- 1 - 100- [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100- (CP, USA - Organization)

2 - Portland (RM)

- 1 - 100- [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100- (CP, USA - Organization)

3 - St. Louis (RM)

- 1 - 100- 6970 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100- (C. MARTIN)
- 1 - 100- (CP, USA - Organization)

7 - San Francisco (RM)

- 1 - 100- [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100- [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100- [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100- 27988 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100- (MICKEY LIMA)
- 1 - 100- [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100- (CP, USA - Organization)

2 - San Juan (RM)

- 1 - 100- (JUAN SANTOS RIVERA)
- 1 - 100- (CP, USA - Organization)

2 - Seattle (RM)

- 1 - 100- 127 (BURT NELSON)
- 1 - 100- (CP, USA - Organization)

1 - Washington Field (RM)

- 1 - 100- (CP, USA - Organization)

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CG 100-33741

34 - Chicago

- 1 - 61-867 (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
- 1 - 100-20289 (JIM WEST)
- 1 - 100-12459 (FLO HALL)
- 1 - 100-2748 (SAM KUSHNER)
- 1 - 100-12890 (EARL DURHAM)
- 1 - 100-12789 (GERALDYNE LIGHTFOOT)
- 1 - 100-22483 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-3313 (JACK KLING)
- 1 - 100-30108 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-4031 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-21073 (LESTER DAVIS)
- 1 - 100-2749 (MOLLIE WEST)
- 1 - 100-644 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-20278 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-3470 (MORRIS CHILDS)
- 1 - 100-33148 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-18457 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-13763 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-29709 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100- (AAHA)
- 1 - 100-8261 (Cominfil-NAACP)
- 1 - 100-29303 (Chicago Northern District Association of Colored Women)
- 1 - 100- ("The Worker")
- 1 - 100- (Chicago Youth Council on Human Relations)
- 1 - 100-18953 (CP, USA, Ill. District - Organization)
- 1 - 100-18963 (" " " - Factionalism)
- 1 - 100-18961 (" " " - International Relations)
- 1 - 100-17977 (" " " - Political Activities)
- 1 - 100-18954 (" " " - Legislative Activities)
- 1 - 100-19491 (" " " - Domestic Administration Issues)
- 1 - 100-34438 (CP Attempts to Infiltrate Mass Organizations)
- 1 - 100-24020 [REDACTED]

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ In addition to the copies set forth above, additional copies will be maintained in the Chicago Office pending receipt of photographs of individuals who attended the CP, USA National Convention for identification purposes. At such time as [REDACTED] identifies these photographs and indicates from the photographic identification who the various speakers were at the Convention in those cases where only a first name was given, proper notation will be made in the reports and copies of this report will be forwarded to the appropriate Offices. b7D

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ADDENDUM

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ It is to be noted that [] arrived at the CP-USA, National Convention late on the afternoon of December 10, 1959, along with several other people in his delegation. This time was immediately prior to the adjournment of the Convention for dinner on December 10, 1959. For that reason he was unable to report on that which was taken up at the Convention on the first day. [] was also a member of the Committee on the Negro Question and missed some portions of the Plenary Session of the Convention on the morning of December 11, 1959.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ Arrangements for the departure of [] group of delegates was handled by GERALDYNELIGHTFOOT and she had set an original departure time of approximately 6:00 PM on December 13, 1959. For this reason [] was unable to report on the last portion of the final day's session of the CP National Convention.

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DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02-16-2012

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

December 14, 1959
Chicago, Illinois

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ The 17th National Convention of the Communist Party, USA (CP) was held on December 10-13, 1959, in the Theresa Hotel, 125th and 7th Avenues, New York City. There were more than 175 people in attendance at the plenary sessions of the Convention including delegates, alternates, fraternal delegates, visitors and guests.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ The following persons were among those in attendance at this Convention as delegates or alternates. Because of the great number of persons in attendance, it cannot be said that these attended every session of the Convention on each day but they were in attendance for one or more sessions of the 17th National Convention of the CP, USA:

WILLIAM ALBERTSON
JAMES ALLEN
PHIL BART
FRED BLAIR
MANNY BLUM

[REDACTED]
HOMER CHASE
JESUS COLON
BEN DAVIS, Jr.
[REDACTED]
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

[REDACTED]
SI GERSON
GUS HALL

[REDACTED]
JIM JACKSON
ANTON KRCHMAREK
MICKEY LIMA
HY LUMER
GEORGE MEYERS

[REDACTED]
GEORGE MORRIS
THOMAS NABRIED
BURT NELSON

[REDACTED]
WILLIAM L. PATTERSON
PETTIS PERRY
IRVING POTASH

PAUL ROBESON, Jr.

[REDACTED]
JACK STACHEL
JIM TORMEY
PAT TOOHEY

[REDACTED]
CARL WINTER
HELEN WINTER
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
JIM WEST
FLO HALL
SAM KUSHNER
EARL DURHAM
GERALDYNE LIGHTFOOT

[REDACTED]
JACK KLING

[REDACTED]
LESTER DAVIS
MOLLIE WEST

[REDACTED]
MORRIS CHILDS

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ At the outset of the Convention a quantity of documents was made available to each delegate and alternate which contained reports, resolutions, discussion material and informational literature. These documents were the following:

- A) Keynote Address by GUS HALL, entitled "Let Us Set Our Sights to the Future".
- B) 17th Convention resolution on the Negro Question in the United States.
- C) Resolution on Cuba.
- D) Resolution on the work and status of women.
- E) Resolution on the Youth Question.
- F) Disarmament and the American Economy.
- G) Report of the Constitution Committee.
- H) Resolution on Puerto Rican work in the United States.
- I) Resolution on "The Worker".
- J) Draft resolution on Party Organization.
- K) The Communist Party.
- L) Farm resolution.
- M) Report on the 1960 elections.
- N) Program material for the 17th National Convention, CP, USA.
- O) Document entitled, "General Principles".
- P) Discussion article on the Negro Question by CYRIL BRIGGS.
- Q) Discussion article on the Negro Question by M. A.
- R) Document entitled "An Old Problem Rediscussed".

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- S) Document entitled "Some Comments on the Draft Resolution by PETTIS PERRY".
- T) Pre-Convention discussion.

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It was learned that the Convention opened on December 10, 1959, with a keynote address by GUS HALL in place of EUGENE DENNIS, who had been taken ill just before the Convention was to begin. Greetings to the Convention were read which had been received from the Communist Parties of other countries.

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The following committees were organized and announced late in the afternoon of the first day:

- 1) Committee on Peace Policy
- 2) Labor Committee
- 3) Committee on Negro Question (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, Chairman)
- 4) 1960 Election Committee
- 5) Committee on Party Organization
- 6) Committee on the Party Constitution
- 7) Committee on Youth Work
- 8) Committee on Defense Problems
- 9) Miscellaneous Resolutions Committee
- 10) Latin-American Affairs Committee
- 11) Appeals and Audit Committee (MORRIS CHILDS, Chairman)
- 12) Committee on Statement of Party Principles
- 13) Committee on Women
- 14) Committee on Farm Question
- 15) Credentials Committee

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- 16) Press Committee
- 17) Publicity Committee
- 18) General Resolutions Committee
- 19) Presiding Committee

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ The second day's session of the 17th National Convention of the CP, USA began at about 10:00 A.M. on December 11, 1959. Shortly after the beginning of the second day's session, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT asked for a point of special privilege to enable his committee, the committee on Negro work, to leave the Convention in order to complete their deliberation. This request was acceded to and the committee on Negro work left the Convention.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ This committee did not return until shortly before the break for lunch at the end of the morning session.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ The afternoon session of the second day's session of the CP, USA National Convention began after 2:00 P.M., at which time [redacted] was elected chairman for the afternoon session. CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT started the discussion on the Negro Question by giving the report of the committee on Negro work. This is the committee that had requested additional time for their deliberation in the morning session of the National Convention. b6 b7c

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CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT'S Report on the Resolution on the Negro Question

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ LIGHTFOOT stated that the Resolution on the Negro Question is one of the most discussed of all the Party's resolutions. He said that they had some very sharp differences on the tactical position of the Negro struggle and the analysis of the forces of the enemy of the Negro people in the discussion and deliberations of the Committee on the Negro Question. He noted that the analysis of the forces of the enemy of the Negro people is a highly political problem.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ He added that there were also sharp differences on whether to maintain or delete the slogan of self-determination in the Party's Resolution on the Negro Question. Self-determination is only one aspect (of the Resolution), however. The defects arising from the different competitions in the different movements of the Negro people (from the basic organization of the Negro in the churches to other Negro movements) leads us to try to find the immediate and main enemies of Negro people. Is the Dixiecrat coalition or Monopoly Capital the enemy of the Negro people? Or is the Dixiecrat coalition being used by Monopoly Capital as the main enemy of the Negro people?

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ LIGHTFOOT added that he wanted to be very clear on this question because without clarity the overriding issues through which we must develop greater Negro-white unity cannot be obtained. The winning of the farmers, the middle class and the workers to one general principal of unity on the Negro Question is an absolute must because we have some very difficult problems.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ LIGHTFOOT said he wanted to stress that a vote had been taken in the Committee on the problem of self-determination. He said the vote was taken with the full body or at least a quorum of the Committee present, and it had come out with 13 in favor of dropping the slogan of self-determination and five opposed to dropping it.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ In considering a program of work on the Negro Question, LIGHTFOOT said that first and foremost our obligation should be to put a program into effect that when understood will remove the idea that the Negro can win his objective regardless of unity between Negro and white workers. He then asked what do the Negro people wish? He answered this by saying that the Negro people wish to stop any and all denial of their rights as American citizens. The Negro wants to be treated as a human being--no more, no less. He wants to stop the avoiding of his rights and privileges as interpreted by the United Nations Charter. He wants no more violations of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ LIGHTFOOT added that the Committee called for a declaration on this in the resolution on the Negro Question and he thought that the committee came out with a feeling of unity and purpose. LIGHTFOOT then analysed various points in the resolution on the Negro Question. He also read portions of the special document prepared by PETTIS PERRY of California, and a third document on the Negro Question. It was noted that in the document by PETTIS PERRY it said that the Negro will never gain any further democratic rights until something is done about the South. That is the main and overall issue--the Dixiecrats in the South.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ Following LIGHTFOOT's report there was a discussion period, and the following comments were noted:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ PETTIS PERRY spoke about political groupings and asked the question how do you go about getting political representation for a majority group which does not have representation as the Negroes do in the South. They are the majority in some areas, but they are not a political majority.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ WILLIAM L. PATTERSON spoke about the need for increased emphasis on Negro culture. He also said that the 17th National Convention will be known as the Convention that re-orientated the CP on the Negro Question.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ The convention voted to uphold the recommendation dropping the slogan of self-determination and also voted in favor of the main line of the Resolution on the Negro Question.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ A small woman from New York made a motion to reject the political line of the Resolution but adopt the rest of the Negro Resolution. (This then actually amounted to two resolutions.) The California delegation also got into the discussion on this point. Finally, the whole convention got into a hassle on it and the parliamentarian of the convention had to be called to the stage. The parliamentarian said that the Committee on Negro Work did not make such a recommendation and, therefore, such a motion could not be adopted. He pointed out that if such motion was adopted it would be out of order and would not be in accordance with the original rules adopted for the convention. It would mean that the recommendations of the Committee on Negro Work would be put aside and that committee would have to go back out and re-do its work. He reiterated that the committee had recommended the dropping of the slogan and acceptance of the main line of the Resolution. Therefore, the convention would have to first reject the motion of the committee and then send it back to re-do its work before accepting this new motion.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ Some of those present wanted to challenge the parliamentarian on this, saying that he could not put out this motion, and others wanted to challenge the chairman on the matter. The parliamentarian referred all these objections back to the rules that had been adopted the previous day. Finally, the chairman of the meeting ruled that this motion, in its content, could not be acted upon in its present form or wording. That ended the discussion on the motion. The recommendation of the Committee on Negro Work was upheld that the "right of self-determination" be dropped and the main line of the Resolution be accepted.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ The convention adjourned for supper at this time. Following the break for supper, GEORGE MEYERS was proposed as chairman of the evening session.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ The evening session opened up with the playing of a recording by TIM BUCK, who sent greetings to the CP, USA, Convention from the CP of Canada. In these greetings,

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BUCK spoke of the struggle against capitalism waged by the CP, USA, and pledged the unity of the Canadian workers with the American workers (Communist Party) in leading the workers in the United States and Canada in a coalition of the general proletarian movement against the supporters and perpetrators of the cold war and the atom bomb thesis, for peace, prosperity, disarmament, and co-existence. The reactionary clique in Canada, thanks to the revisionist clique in our Party, which has been eradicated from our Party, operated in the attacks on the Canadian labor movement. They (the reactionary clique) used the phrase of stopping the wage spiral, while in the United States the reactionaries have operated using the phrase about stopping inflation. BUCK's greetings further said that "we herewith declare our unstinting solidarity with the steel workers of America and the CP--the victorious leadership of the working class in America." That we will march shoulder to shoulder until there is complete victory by the international proletariat.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Report on the Political Campaign
for 1960 by BEN DAVIS, JR.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DAVIS stated that the difference between the two major parties is fast disappearing. We have to concretize our program in the various issues and movements for 1960 in the main, on civil rights, peace, greater economic security, and progress.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ He recalled that the "Pittsburgh Courier", while raising recruiting of the armed forces during the war, raised the issue of fighting Fascism abroad and Jim Crowism at home. Our Party did not raise this timely issue at all, however. We were too busy trying to defeat the Fascists and did not see the connection. We, therefore, lost face and much ground from these costly errors.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DAVIS continued, saying (ADLAI) STEVENSON's role supports the anti-strike movement as indicated in his latest statement. We have to begin to put people in their places.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DAVIS also stated that he felt that so far as the Negro people are concerned, we have to develop a new left

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in the Negro people's movement for the Negro people's struggles. A new left means a new initiative. We have to examine the concrete situations for application of the unfolding of our 1960 political struggles. This method of study is the key to unfolding a new concept for the success of the people in the coming conditions for 1960.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ The outstanding issues of 1960 are "Free by '63" for the Negro people and not in 17 years as proposed by the Republican Party. Peace not tomorrow but today, with complete disarmament, re-call of American soldiers from foreign lands, and an end to conscription. And on the economic front, trade with all countries.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Discussion on DAVIS' Report

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ WINTERS said that the objective for 1960 is:

- A. Advance the American people
- B. A policy of peace and disarmament and peaceful co-existence

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ He noted that President EISENHOWER is now abroad on a visit. He added KHRUSHCHEV's visit indicated that now is the time for the end of the cold war. The time for complete disarmament is overdue. The situation for peaceful co-existence is a must and mankind is bound to adhere to it.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ He added that labor in the Democratic Party and labor in the Republican Party is no different. Labor cannot, of its own accord, lay hold of either the Democratic or Republican Party and wield its political machine for the working class. This labor cannot do (accomplish). That is why big business is so comprehensive in its activity to destroy organized labor. He added that we made some very serious errors, but he said that he did not want to open up old wounds. He did feel that the breaking away from the Democratic Party in 1948 in the campaign under HENRY WALLACE was a mistake, however, and the Party is still suffering from that mistake. He does not foresee a third party movement by 1960, but it could be the end of the coalition by the Dixiecrats

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of the South and the reactionary Republicans as occurred in the last session of Congress and was reflected in the passage of the Landrum-Griffin Bill and the defeat of Rule 21 and the failure to pass any civil rights legislation, etc.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HOMER CHASE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ CHASE spoke about the need for peace and also commented favorably about GUS HALL's report.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ JOHNSON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ JOHNSON said that we have to be careful in this convention or in spite of our deliberations and decisions we are apt to find ourselves with a lot of talk and discussion but no real decisions. He added that when resolutions are presented in a convention of this type they should give a continuity to that which is new. We should see a tremendous significance in the 1960 election in relation to the war against rising Fascism and of the hope and desires of the people for peace. He added the following conditions are unavoidable conditions for peace and for the shaping of our 1960 political campaign:

- A. Total disarmament in 1960
- B. 90 per cent of the Congressmen are elected on the promises of the primaries. We should work in the primaries.
- C. Timing of our 1960 political program is important.
- D. Civil rights should be the first point on the agenda.
- E. Let's not make the same mistake that we made last year; that was the mistake on the civil rights issue to change the filibuster rule, Rule 21. (The CP did not support the fight to change Rule 21.)

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ He noted that when you talk about civil rights today it gets under the collar of all segregationists and they begin to sweat.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ Following JOHNSON's comments there was a motion to adopt the proposals of the Election Committee and it was carried with a unanimous vote and only one abstention.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Report on Farm Issues
by [redacted] (Possibly
from California)

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ He said there has been, since 1945, one and one-half million farmers eliminated from the farms. The farmers have been very important in the labor battles lately. He added the Negro people, and the farmers are a non-working class that can become allied with the workers to give support to each other in their economic struggles. The idea that the farmers should lead the working class where they are in the majority needs to be changed. He felt that even if the farmers are in the majority in a certain area, they should not lead the working class.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ He also suggested some changes which should be made in the Resolution on the Negro Question as well as a slight change in the Resolution on the Farmers. (These specific changes were not noted, however.) The recommended changes on the Resolution on the Farm Question were adopted by the convention.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ It was noted that there was very little discussion on the Resolution on the Farm Question. Only one or two people spoke on it as most of the delegates did not seem too interested in this Resolution. A vote was taken on the Farm Resolution and it was passed and accepted.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Report of the Credential Committee
by JACK KLING

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ At the outset of his remarks, KLING said that

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there were going to be certain inaccuracies in his report because of the lateness in attendance by some of the delegates to the convention. He added, however, that as of that time the Credential Committee was checking on the late arrivals and would bring the report up to date. He then gave the following report:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

There are 187 delegates to the 17th National Convention of the CP, USA, of whom 131 are regular delegates and 25 are alternates. Fifteen are fraternal delegates and 16 are visitors.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ He then said that to these amounts should be added an additional 41 which is made up of two additional regular delegates, two alternates, five fraternal delegates, and 32 visitors. The following States or areas are represented:

New York
New Jersey
Ohio
Indiana
Illinois
Wisconsin
Pennsylvania
Michigan
Minnesota
Maryland
Washington, D. C.
California
Missouri
New England

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ There are 112 men and 39 women. Among those in attendance, 33 are Negroes. The age of the delegates to the convention is as follows:

Under 25 years	1
25 - 35	29
35 - 40	22
40 - 50	48
50 - 60	44
Over 60	8

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ Two-thirds of the convention is over 40 years of age.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ Length of Time in the Party:

Under 10 years	11
10 - 15	24
15 - 20	24
20 - 30	68
Over 30	12
Charter members	5

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ Occupations:

Industrial workers	43
White collar workers	40
Housewives	9
Farmers' wives	2
Farmers	2
Professional	5
Self-employed	4
Students	3
Industrial trade union members	49
Full-time Party workers	48

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ The convention adjourned for the second day at this time. The third day session of the CP, USA, National Convention began shortly after 10 A.M. on December 12, 1959. The convention was opened with the reading of greetings from the CP of China to the CP, USA, 17th National Convention. This read as follows:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ Greetings. Hail your 40 years and 17th National Convention and the glorious role that your Party has played in the revolutionary cause of the working class. Long live the CP of America. Long live the revolutionary tradition of the proletariat. Signed, MAO TSE TUNG.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ This greeting received long, loud, and extended applause.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ [redacted] was chairman of the morning session.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Report on Party Organization
by PHIL BART

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ At the outset, BART said that he was not going to speak on the main resolution on Party Organization, but wanted to discuss a supplement to it. (Which is believed to be the document entitled "VI The Communist Party").

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ He then proceeded into a number of changes to this document which he indicated had recently come up. He indicated what paragraphs and sections were to be changed but went through them rather quickly and there was some confusion about them among those present.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ For example, he stated that Paragraph 4, Page 3 of the supplement had been rewritten.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ He asked the question, is capitalism the only solution for the present or future of the people or is there something else? --- He also said imperialism puts a peace program on the people that conflicts with their best interests.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BART also said that there can be no let-up in the fight against revisionism. Leftism is the price that the Party has to pay for revisionism.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BART also proposed that the problems raised in his report be discussed in all Districts, in all Clubs in order to finalize these problems. He further proposed that each District hold conferences to strengthen Party organization and gave some concrete proposals on that which should be taken up in those discussions.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ Another proposal that BART made along this same line was that there should be a draft on Party recruiting. This should become something of special interest.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ There was no vote taken on the proposals which BART made at this time.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Unknown Speaker (Possibly
BETTY from New York).

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ This person spoke on the aspect of the special feature of United States imperialism. She noted that the ruling class in the United States spends \$100,000,000 per year to pervert the minds of our people through the press, TV, radio, magazines, and whatnot. Mass education must be carried on in the light of the workers' experiences. We must learn how to talk to the workers in terms of their experiences; in terms of their ability to listen and understand. Such questions as are related to the so-called people's capitalism must be dealt with. The Communists must become the best fighters for the needs of the people and the best educators of the minds of the people.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Male Speaker from Detroit

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ He stated that we must overcome the wide gap between the leadership of the trade unions and the membership which exists in the state and county councils of the trade union movement. The leadership must be brought to the understanding that the policy-making bodies of the councils must reflect the thinking of the membership in their policies. The councils have the responsibility to relieve the insecurity of the membership within their area. He noted that experience in this setup has been spotty in some areas.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Male Speaker from Buffalo,
MORT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ This speaker introduced a resolution on new unity for the Party based on a correct estimate of the Party. He noted that the recent strikes have brought forth a new type of unity. 25,000 steel workers were on strike in his

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area and ten steel locals voted to strike and go beyond the Kaiser settlement. Also, they had a protest on a local tax question and 10,000 people participated in the protest. He added that in his area, however, in spite of this new kind of activity, the Party is too small to switch from a defensive struggle to an offensive struggle.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ After bringing in these points, this speaker elaborated further on them and said that based on the foregoing he wanted to introduce a resolution on building the Party on a qualitative as well as on a quantitative basis. His resolution was that the 17th National Convention be known as a "build the Party convention" and that every National Committee member set themselves a quota for recruiting. This pattern should become a national organizational pattern for the Party and district after district should challenge each other regarding increases in subscriptions for "The Worker" and for the recruitment of industrial workers.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ This resolution was passed unanimously.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
GERALDYNE LIGHTFOOT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ LIGHTFOOT said that the resolution tackles the question of the Communists in the problems of the people today. "Left initiative" is the role of the Communists in the united front, such as in organizations like the Afro-American Heritage Association (A-AHA). LIGHTFOOT then explained that the A-AHA is a local organization in Chicago which was organized to celebrate National Negro History Week and to focus attention on outstanding Negroes of the past. She cited activities of this type as one of the hallmarks for the developing or unfolding of broader developments in the united front in the liberation movement of the Negro people. LIGHTFOOT continued, saying something about her usually having two strikes against her. First, she is a woman, and secondly she is CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT's wife. She then gave an example of how this is not always a handicap, noting that she joined a Federation

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of Women's Clubs and the president of the women's club came to her and said, "Aren't you GERALDYNE LIGHTFOOT?". GERALDYNE said she quickly replied that she was, whereupon the president (whom she apparently expected to say something about her Communist affiliations) said that she was proud to know her and added that she likes the Communists. She added that people have a closed mind about many things but most are friendly to her.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TOM NABRIED from Eastern Pennsylvania

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ TOM said that GUS HALL's report and the many speeches that have followed it have raised a foundation for mass work, but we still have difficulties to overcome. There are still some damages caused by revisionism that are to be overcome.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ By way of accomplishments, he reported that the Party in his area helped to elect the first Negro Congressman in that district. He also said that there was a union in his area which had an all white leadership, but they got together with a few people and laid out some strategy and as a result succeeded in electing a Negro to the Executive Board of the union. This Negro now has the second highest position on the Executive Board, that of Vice-President of the union. He added that in the Western half of Pennsylvania they were successful in forcing the Government to give jobs to some youths also. He added that in spite of these positive gains by the Party, they still have weaknesses in the Party organization. These weaknesses stem from the fact that one or two individuals do outstanding work on their own and on their own individual initiative without the work registering in a collective manner. Their work is not reflected as a part of the Party's work as a whole.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ He added that he wanted to agree with a previous speaker, BETTY _____, that the test of the quality of the leadership (of the Party) today must be measured by the ability of the leadership to work with other people.

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[redacted] speaking for the Presiding Committee, read a letter which had been received at the convention from Columbia University. This letter was addressed to EUGENE DENNIS and asked him to come and speak to a group at the university at a time that would be convenient to him. The letter asked that he let them know when he could come and address an undergraduate group. This request was signed by 14 people.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ He said the Party thought that it was significant that these students wanted to hear a talk by EUGENE DENNIS. It asked the question, is there tangible hope for the future in the present conditions of today in America?

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ [redacted] also read a resolution that had been sent in by the State of Michigan calling for regional meetings under the leadership of the National Committee. He indicated that this letter would be referred to the incoming National Committee for action. [redacted] also brought up another resolution which called for the moving of the Party headquarters from New York to Chicago providing it is not too difficult a problem to obtain residences for the leadership, etc. This resolution was put over to a Residential Committee which is to report on it by the first full meeting of the National Committee (which will presumably be early in 1960).

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
JUANITA
From California

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ JUANITA brought in the CP Resolution on Women's Work. She reported that resolutions on women's work came in from California, New York, Pennsylvania, and Iowa. In speaking of the Resolution on Women's Work, she said that we must understand the need for a special fight for women. Women get lower wages. Negro women are employed up to 62 per cent in domestic work. The job here is to remove the differential between the wages paid to women compared to that

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paid to men when both do the same kind of work. This hurts the whole trade union movement.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ She added the Party needs to search deeper into this situation which she termed the "rise of women and the role of women".

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ She proposed that a conference be called for a discussion on the international role of women because it is somewhat related to the international role of imperialism.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ [redacted] from New York

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ She stated the 50 per cent of the women in America work after their marriage; therefore, women should address themselves to the leadership of the women, especially in unions. For example, take the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) where the president of these unions is always a man while in many cases the women have a great majority. She noted that the Party in the State of Washington already has some women's groups set up. (In speaking of the ILGWU, [redacted] mentioned a bouquet of flowers on the stage had been sent by the ILGWU along with congratulations to the convention. This was greeted with applause.) During her comments, she also called for action on a motion that had been presented by [redacted] and for action on another resolution on Section 6 of the Resolution on Party Organization. These motions requested by [redacted] were passed although the exact wording of them is not known. She also asked for motion on a resolution dealing with strengthening of the fight for legality of the Party which motion was also passed. Next, [redacted] presented a resolution asking that the incoming National Committee re-examine the whole question of the legality of the Party as mentioned in one of the resolutions and this motion was also passed. In speaking, she further brought in a point about the rights of children and said that in Harlem there are now 1,000 children who are going to be transferred to better schools. This had to do with the fight for integration in the schools.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ He stated that he was proud of the Party in Harlem in that it is still operating although it had been smashed by revisionism. He was also proud of the contribution of that district to the Party in the resolution on the Negro Question.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ He added that in Harlem they wanted to challenge the Chicago District on recruiting. This challenge was that Harlem alone will recruit more people into the Party than all of the Illinois District. This challenge was accepted by the Illinois District.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ At this point, the Resolution on Party Organization as a whole was adopted. Also, a Resolution on "The Worker" was adopted and a proposal that a large paper be published, directed to members of the Mexican element within one year, probably to be written in Spanish, was carried.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The Situation Regarding Mexican People, Report by Unknown Speaker

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ This speaker stated that there are 4,000,000 Mexican-Americans in California and they make up the largest national minority group. He said that the yearly increase of Mexicans into the United States in that area, California, is 65,000 per year and they have strong ties with the Catholic Church. He noted that in one area they have only 12 doctors and two social workers for a great number of Mexican people. He added that a majority of Mexican-Americans are located in California where many of them are actually the heart of the working class. Their status has created some peculiar problems. Over one-half of these people do not vote and are not even registered to vote.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ They have the lowest educational level and have an antiquated school system. Immigration problems loom

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

high for them and their community service organizations are not able to cope with the overwhelming amount of problems which arise for them although they are given as much assistance as possible.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ He proposed that the incoming National Committee take appropriate charge of this situation in order to bring about a more justified solution to this condition. The Mexican people can become an integral part of the struggle for socialism in America through this development.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ This motion was carried unanimously.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ KENNY (phonetic), a Negro Female, who appeared to be from Calif.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ This person introduced a resolution calling for Party activity among the Japanese, especially in her area. She also brought in a resolution calling for the complete withdrawal of United States troops from Japan. She said the United States should let the Japanese people alone and noted that they are not happy having American troops there. She cited the recent protest made by the Japanese people about having the United States troops stationed there.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ In talking about building Party activity among the Japanese, she mentioned that it had been 18 years since activity of this nature had been undertaken (apparently referring to the period about 1941 when the war with Japan started).

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ She also introduced a resolution on the American Indian people. She described the Indian people as being the victims of a most brutal program of genocide. She said that activity on the Indian problem should be put on the agenda of the next National Committee meeting as the next task of the Party. The Resolution on the Indian People was passed.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Report on "The Worker"
by GEORGE MEYERS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ In talking of building the circulation of "The Worker", MEYERS recalled an incident in which some auto workers by accident started to read "The Worker". This came about when some people were passing "The Worker" out from an automobile and the auto workers came by. As a result of reading "The Worker" these three auto workers took the train to New York to see the exhibit that was on display there by the Soviet Union.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
WILLIAM L. PATTERSON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ PATTERSON had a draft resolution on "The Worker" which called for, among other things, the publication of a Midwest edition of "The Worker". He added that this will not be done unless we build the paper. The work of the Party as set forth in this convention will not come to pass if we do not carry out the task of building "The Worker". He proposed that the incoming National Committee organize a financial campaign for support of "The Worker" through which \$75,000 will be obtained. This campaign should begin on the 36th anniversary of "The Worker"--which will begin on January 13, 1960, and end on May 1, 1960.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ In speaking of the circulation of "The Worker", he said that at the present time the circulation is between 13,000 and 14,000 and he felt that it can be raised to 20,000 during the year 1960. He indicated that 4,000 of these subscriptions now go outside the United States.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ He also announced plans to localize "The Worker" and press building, and added that by May 1, 1960, it is hoped that a Midwest edition of "The Worker" can be set up.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
JACK STACHEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STACHEL, the third speaker on the press, proposed that the "Daily Worker" be reconstituted in the near future.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

He indicated that it would be not too much of a problem to re-establish the "Daily Worker".

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ Following these reports which were accepted unanimously, a motion was made and carried to reconstitute the "Daily Worker" in 1960. This work is to be started right after the first meeting of the incoming National Committee. A committee is to be designated within the next 90 days to work on the re-establishing of the "Daily Worker". It was indicated that it is planned to have the paper re-established prior to the time of the Democratic and Republican national conventions.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ Next, there was a reading of greetings presented by the CP of France which had been submitted by DU CLO S, leader of the CP in France. This resolution stated:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ Greetings, and noted the declaration of a new situation, the growing strength of socialism, the KHRUSHCHEV peace offensive, and the peace program of the CP, USA, which is described as the only proletarian organization that gives genuine leadership to the masses of the workers and the Negro people of the United States without being swallowed up by the tactics of the bourgeois apologists.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ Prior to a report by GUS HALL, the following motions were also taken up and passed:

- A. To rebuild a Marxist-Leninist youth organization
- B. To build an anti-monopoly coalition

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Report by GUS HALL on
National Committee

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ HALL recommended that the new National Committee be larger than had previously been planned for. He said

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that the proposed size of the incoming National Committee would be 50 members, with 35 elected directly by State or District Delegations and the remaining 15 elected at large. He added that the various district delegations should take some time out in the coming afternoon or early evening to hold district caucuses in order to discuss their proposals for the new National Committee. In discussing the new National Committee, HALL suggested that the various delegations give consideration to having a balanced National Committee with consideration being given Negroes, women, and youth in the deliberation. He then cited the following as the members of the National Committee to be elected by the respective districts:

New York State	8
Southern California	3
Northern California	3
Illinois	4
Ohio	2
New England	1
Eastern Pennsylvania	1
New Jersey	1
Maryland	2
Wisconsin	1
Indiana	1
Michigan	2
Minnesota	1
The South	3
Washington State	1
Missouri	1
Oregon	1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ The vote on this recommendation was carried with one vote opposed and eight abstentions. An amendment was proposed that the State or District Delegation should state their preferences for the at large National Committee members; however, this motion was not carried. It was pointed out that such a request would be tantamount to voting for these people. At this time, this session of the National Convention adjourned for lunch.

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Report on the Auditing
and Appeals Committee

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ MORRIS CHILDS gave the report of the Auditing Committee. At the outset he indicated this was not a true audit because it was not prepared by accountants, but it was believed to be correct. He reported the income for the Party in 1957 was \$196,079.78, and expenditures were \$144,000.99. In 1958 the income was \$133,832.73 and expenses were \$131,361. He reported a balance for 1958 as \$2,471.39.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ Continuing, CHILDS said that income for the first nine months of 1959 had been \$92,812.55, and expenses for this same period were \$90,323.41, which left a balance for the first nine months of 1959 of \$2,489.14. The Party's total liability as of the current date is \$11,018.96. He also noted that the reporting of CP dues is not up to date, but it reflects quite a decrease over 1958. The 1958 average was \$1.21 per person whereas the 1959 average is only \$1.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ A motion was made to accept the report of the Auditing and Appeals Committee and it was passed.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ At this time a new subject was brought up with an appeal concerning the case of MAX BEDACHT who, it was reported, had been in the CP since 1905. The petitioner for him said that he had been expelled from the CP along with his son and daughter; however, he appealed this suspension in 1950, but nothing was ever done about it.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ It was pointed out at this time that the Appeals Committee had already taken action on this case and MAX was no longer under suspension. The Appeals Committee reported that it would not take any further action on this matter as he is no longer in an expelled status and is, therefore, considered a member of the Party. (Apparently no one had advised MAX of this decision of the Appeals Committee.)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ At this time BEN DAVIS announced that a fraternal delegate from Cuba was to have addressed the Convention, but he did not appear. DAVIS did introduce a fraternal delegate from Puerto Rico, who had been injured in an automobile accident, en route to the Convention from the airport. This fraternal delegate, JUAN SANTOS RIVERAS (PH), brought greetings

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from the Puerto Rican CP to this Convention. RIVERAS had to be helped onto the stage and it was noted that his head was in bandages and he seemed to be in pain.

PAT TOOHEY extended the greetings of the Convention to him and presented him with some flowers.

This Puerto Rican delegate spoke completely in Spanish and his comments were translated by JESUS COLON. RIVERAS criticized the sharp attack by United States Imperialism on the Puerto Ricans and described this attack as the worst in history. At the outset of his comments he also said that he felt his injuries were not the result of an "accident", but that this was the result of the work of the Capitalist forces possibly trying to prevent his attendance at this Convention.

At this time two resolutions were introduced, one which wished RIVERAS a speedy recovery and the other was that the National Committee set up a plan of work on the Latin American situation with particular emphasis on a hands-off policy to be played by the United States. In speaking about Cuba at this time it was brought out that there are three departments in the Cuban Government which are headed by Negroes, and the United States does not have any departments which are headed by Negroes. An additional resolution instructed the incoming National Committee to set up a meeting on the West Coast to deal with nothing but the Mexican Question. The incoming National Committee should also set up a West Coast Commission for work among the Mexican people and it should also draft an appeal asking the United States people to aid the Latin American people in their fight against the sugar trusts, etc.

JESUS COLON did a lot of talking during this particular period. He said that it is the obligation of the CP, USA, to support these Latin American people in their struggle as a part of the general struggle of the world proletarian movement. He noted that in Cuba, for example, a 15 man land reform committee has already been set up and it is the heart and soul of the economy in Cuba.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ A request was also made that post cards, letters, telegrams, etc., be sent to the United States Government leadership protesting the fact that the United States had taken action in support of BATISTA (the ousted dictator of Cuba). It was reported that BATISTA has plans to invade Cuba by January, 1960, and reportedly the United States Government will try to assist in this invasion. It was also pointed out that the United States Government has adopted the policy of boycotting and banning shipments of arms to CASTRO in Cuba, and also against other countries which might subsequently ship the arms to Cuba, while at the same time it is allowing BATISTA's forces to get arms and munitions. A request was made that immediately upon the return from this Convention each district act at once with regard to sending in the protests about this situation.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

At this time the discussion of nominations and proposals ^{regarding the} election of members to the new National Committee was taken up. At the outset ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN asked for a vote that WILLIAM Z. FOSTER be Chairman Emeritus of the CP, USA.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Next the list of nominees for the position as National Committee members at large was read. This list contained the following:

EUGENE DENNIS
GUS HALL
JIM JACKSON
HY LUMER
BEN DAVIS JR.
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN
JACK STACHEL
IRVING POTASH
PHIL BART
HERB APTHEKER
JESUS COLON

[REDACTED]
JIM ALLEN
AL RICHMOND

[REDACTED]
PETTIS PERRY
ARNOLD JOHNSON

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GERALDINE LIGHTFOOT

[REDACTED]

WILL WEINSTONE
ERIC BERT
GEORGE MEYERS
WILLIAM L. PATTERSON
SI GERSON (tied for last place)
DELL from northern California (tied for last place).

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ An additional group of persons were on what was described as the "second list" of nominees for the National Committee at large:

[REDACTED]

MOLLIE WEST

[REDACTED]

GEORGE MORRIS

[REDACTED]

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ The following persons were nominated by the districts for the National Committee:

New York

PAUL
NAT
LOUIS WEINSTOCK -
MORT from Buffalo
MIKE

[REDACTED]

BILL ALBERTSON

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Southern California

[REDACTED]

DOROTHY HEALEY
BEN DOBBS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Northern California

MICKEY LIMA
ROSCOE
JUANITA

Illinois

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
[REDACTED]
FLO HALL
SAM KUSHNER

Michigan

CARL WINTER
[REDACTED]

Ohio

[REDACTED]
ANTON KRCHMAREK
[REDACTED]

Washington State

BURT NELSON

Oregon

[REDACTED]

The South

[REDACTED]

Maryland

JAKE

Indiana

MANNY BLUM

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Wisconsin

FRED BLAIR

Minnesota

[Redacted]

Eastern Pennsylvania

TOM NABRIED

New Jersey

PAT TOOHEY

New England

HOMER CHASE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ Additional names were proposed from the floor to be nominees as members of the National Committee at large. These included:

BETTY GANNETT of New York
JIM TORMEY
ART

Committee on Defense of the Party
by ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ FLYNN spoke about the defense of the CP and the attacks under the Smith Act. She also brought up the need for establishing the legality of the Party. The resolution of this committee criticizes the illegal use of Congressional investigation committees and the continual harrassment of progressives and Communists by the FBI. Particularly noted was the illegal work of the Eastland Committee, which was described as being a committee which was attempting to carry out thought control.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ She also requested that cards and letters be sent to President EISENHOWER asking for amnesty for GIL GREEN and HENRY WINSTON.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ GERALDYNE LIGHTFOOT was proposed for chairman of the afternoon session and was accepted.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Report on the Youth Resolution By A
White Male National Youth Leader

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ This person reported that 18 resolutions on youth work and the youth question were turned in. In introducing the resolution on youth work, he stated that the document reflects the CP position on youth work. He said there was strong criticism of the Party in its youth work, particularly with reference to Negro-white unity, youth on the farms and the educational status in the schools. Some adults still say that the youth problem is still their own problem.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ He also spoke about school integration and the Youth March on Washington.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ In discussing the youth issues of today, he pointed out that the resolution states that the Districts should establish the political responsibilities for youth work in mass participation in organizational forums for non-Party youth. We should look for the emergence of an independent youth organization. Another point set out is that the Party should fight for the right of youth to get free education without a lot of restrictions. There should also be a fight for:

- a) Federal financing of youth education.
- b) Expansion of the money appropriated for youth work.
- c) End of the military draft.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ In the discussion which followed this main report on youth work, the following comments were noted:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
DANNY (Believed to be from
Eastern Pennsylvania)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ He said that the college students in general are now in the lead on the peace question and that Negro students are in the lead on the Civil Rights question and desegregation. The Party must unravel a full grown youth program around the present situation.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ He made a motion which was seconded that the resolution on youth work, as presented by the Youth Committee, be accepted, however, no vote was taken on it at this time.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ [redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ [redacted] said that the young people should stress some of the growing results among the youth. She cited as an example that a member of the CP in a mass organization emerged as a national youth organizer. She added that we probably cannot see it now, but even if there was a change in the society of the United States in the very near future, we would not be in a position to give leadership to youth. (In other words, even if there was a sudden change to socialism in the United States, she felt that the Party would be caught without a program through which youth could be led.) In her comments, [redacted] indicated the need for a Marxist youth organization.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ AL From California

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ Although this period was mainly devoted to the youth question, AL spoke on the Mexican situation. In his comments he noted that this is the first time in five years that he knew of that an attempt had been made to deal with the Mexican question. He said the Party has had political representation in the Mexican groups as far back as fifteen years ago, but this is the first time that he has heard it mentioned. He added that he felt the UN resolution on discrimination applies to the problems of the Mexicans in the United States, particularly those in California. They have to try to make economic advances against the tremendous odds of discrimination. They also have a disadvantage with respect to political representation in government and in their educational facilities.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ He added that a paramount question for our Party to consider as an immediate task is the developing of a Party program for a solution to the problems of the Mexican people. This is particularly important in the light of the recent Latin-American and Cuban situations.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ [redacted] From Chicago

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ [redacted] made a favorable speech in which he said that we have waited until a lot of work piled up on us on youth work

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

before taking action. Now we have a very good beginning for a mass-based youth movement. He said this is particularly so in the Illinois District. The youth are now beginning to move in Chicago.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ As an example of this, he cited the Chicago Youth Council on Human Relations, which he described as a group which discusses school integration, housing, marriage problems and the general moral concepts among youths.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
A Young Male From
Detroit, Michigan

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ This person spoke in a manner which indicated he is very keen and a potential leader in the Party. His comments were so well received by the Convention that upon completion he was given loud applause.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ At this time the resolution on youth work was voted upon and carried unanimously.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ Greetings were then read from the CP of Western Germany to the Convention.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Report on the Constitution Committee

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
BURT NELSON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ At this time several recommendations and changes in the CP, USA Constitution were read. These were as follows:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
ARTICLE II.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Purposes

Section 1. Add to line 5 after "political activity"

- (a) to attain a peaceful world so that the American people and all mankind may work out their destiny freed from the shadow of nuclear war;
- (b) to attain full equality for the Negro people by banishing jim crow and realizing the fraternal unity of Negro and white;

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ARTICLE III.

Membership

Section 4. Line 8, delete ("if feasible")

Line 9, after "good standing" add:

They may, however, apply for readmission within six months, and upon approval of the club, be permitted to pay all back dues and maintain their former standing.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ARTICLE IV.

Structure

Section 2. Page 9, line 7, after by-laws, add the word or.
line 8, delete (or state committee), retain "may determine". Delete all that follows up to end of line 23.

Retain balance of page.

Page 10, line 2, delete (at large)

line 6, delete all material starting with (a vacancy among members) and ending with (vacancy occurred) on line 12.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ARTICLE V.

National Organization

Section 1. Page 12, line 8, delete (within the first six months of the year).

Section 4. Page 13, line 12, delete (at least 90 days). Add four months, to read:

Prior to regular National Conventions, four months shall be provided for discussions, etc.

Section 5, in the present Constitution has been deleted by referendum.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

New Section 5 to read:

Section 5. That each National Convention determine the number of members of the National Committee and that election be by secret ballot.

New Section 6 to read:

Section 6. The National Committee shall be elected at the National Convention in the following manner: That State Conventions shall make nominations to the National Committee of any member of the Party eligible in their own or any other State. Such nominations together with any other nominations made directly at the Convention shall appear on the election ballot at the National Convention unless a nominee has in the meantime declined.

That in the election of the National Committee all areas of the country be included with due regard to the size of the membership and the character of the state organization.

Present Section 6 then becomes Section 7.

Section 7 will then read:

Section 7. Vacancies shall be filled by the majority vote of the National Committee. Members may be recalled for cause by the affirmative vote of two-thirds of the members of the National Committee.

Present Section 7 becomes Section 8.

Present Section 8 becomes Section 9.

Present Section 9 becomes Section 10.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Page 15, line 6 from the bottom,
Change to read: In fulfillment of its duties
instead of (In connection with
its duties)

Present Section 10 becomes Section 11.

Page 16, last line, change to read: at least
twice a instead of: (at
least four times a)

* * *

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
ARTICLE VI

Rights and Duties of Members

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ Section 1. page 18, line 14 delete (They also
have the right in accordance with
Section 2 of this Article, to dissent
from decisions which have been made.)

line 18, change to read:

Members should be active in carrying
out the program of the Party, to
read and circulate its press and
literature, to increase their know-
ledge of scientific socialism and
to attend club meetings regularly.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ Section 12, page 21, line 10, delete (without
prejudice)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
ARTICLE VII

Disciplinary Procedure and
Appeals

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ Section 3. Page 22, line 8, add after
"any member" or party
committee

line 13, add after "in
that club" Clubs or
individual members may
request the help of the
next higher committee on
such charges.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

line 16, after "trial committee"
add, of the club or appropriate
higher Party body.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Section 6. Page 23, line 1. After "Any Member"
add or committee.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

All of the suggested changes were accepted. Prior to the acceptance of these amendments and changes a hassle developed in the Convention because someone wanted to amend the changes and have the proposed changes discussed on the club level prior to their acceptance. It was felt by some that this highest Party body should not act on it before the lower Party bodies had a chance to give their views. This was subsequently put to a motion, however, and was not carried.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ Another motion was that this Convention should give the incoming National Committee the right to choose its own officers, from chairman of the Party, on down, with only WILLIAM Z. FOSTER being continued as chairman emeritus, through the work of this Convention. This motion also did not carry.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ At this time the Convention concluded this session.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ The final day's session of the CP, USA National Convention began at approximately 10:30 A.M. on December 13, 1959. ANTON KRCHMAREK of Cleveland gave a report on the Nationality Groups Committee. In his report he proposed that a nationality group commission and local nationality groups committees be set up. This motion was carried.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ At this time JACK KLING was called upon to give a report on the work of the Jewish Committee and he said that the report was not ready as they had some work to do on it. He said that some complications had come up and requested more time for deliberation and discussion. This was granted by the Convention.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ At the same time KLING made a recommendation to the National Committee that it finalize a program for the United States on the Jewish question. He suggested that this program be around housing and amnesty for Jewish people in a foreign land. This recommendation was carried.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ She spoke about the flowers which were on the stage, noting that they had come from the ILGWU. She added these beautiful women have been the base for the trade union movement in the needle trades through their struggles.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ She then digressed to speak about some of the oil magnets who work on the American Jewish Committee and said they are not representative of the Jewish people. We have got to make it definite in the Party that unequivocally the Jewish people are a part of the working class and are not among the millionaires. She also commented upon a publication on the Jewish question which came out in 1930.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ As this ended the discussion on this phase of the Convention, a motion was passed to adopt the proposals made by JACK KLING. The motion was that the National Committee finalize the question which KLING had raised. This motion was carried.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
GUSH ALL For the
Presiding Committee

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ HALL said at the outset that usually when he comes to take the floor, some problem has come before the Convention of a serious nature. He added lightly that this was not the case because this time he wanted to speak about the nominations for the National Committee. He said the leadership wanted to do away with the old type of nomination. The membership on the National Committee should reflect the Party's interest in the Negroes, women, industrial work and youth, along with the newer Latin-American situation. He added that the list of nominees prepared by the various Districts had been reviewed and it did not indicate that emphasis had been given to women and Negroes. For this reason the Presiding Committee was proposing that the National Committee members elected at-large be increased from 15 to 25. The committee felt that that would give a better chance for more people to become involved in the leadership.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ He then suggested three things that District organizers should do in their Districts:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 1) Take ideological steps to stop further deterioration of the Party and guard against disruption of objectivity.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- 2) Have flexibility (in their program).
- 3) Guard against subjectivity.

He continued, saying he thought the Convention, in its deliberation, was calling a halt to political extremes in the political life of the Party. This kind of extreme will no longer be tolerated in the Party.

At this point he said that there is a special problem which needed to be taken care of at this time. This concerned the recommendation of the Appeals and Audit Committee to report on the appeals which were brought before it and give an audit of the books of the CP. He also said he wanted to correct an idea that some people have, that the Appeals Committee of the Party is a partial committee. He wanted it known that the Appeals Committee is a control committee of the Party (and is not partial in its decisions).

The report of the Appeals Committee that HARRY HAYWOOD continue to be kept out of the Party because of a charge of "dual Party activity" was carried with 14 abstention and 1 against. A small floor fight developed in the Convention on this with some people saying that HARRY HAYWOOD had so much to offer the Party. The committee recommendation was sustained, however, and he is still out of the Party. In opposition it was stated that if HAYWOOD was so capable a person, he should have known better than to have dealt in dual Party activity.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02-16-2012

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

O F F I C E M E M O R A N D U M *** UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: 12-22-59

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)

SUBJECT: CP, USA
ORGANIZATION
IS - C

[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, orally advised on December 16 and 18, 1959 of the 17th National Convention, Communist Party, USA, held at the Hotel Theresa, 125th Street and 7th Avenue, New York City, on December 10 through 13, 1959. Informant attended the Convention as a guest. Information furnished to SA [redacted]

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This information was reduced to narrative form, authenticated by the informant and is retained in Chicago file [redacted]

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On December 16, 1959, [redacted] also furnished a voluminous amount of literature which he received at the Convention. The Bureau has received this material which has been photostated and retained in the Chicago files.

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Report follows:

14 - Bureau (RM)

- 1 - 100-3-68 (CP, USA - Membership)
- 1 - 100-3-63 (CP, USA - Funds)
- 1 - 100-3-88 (CP, USA - Factionalism)
- 1 - 100-3-81 (CP, USA - International Relations)
- 1 - 100-3-72 (CP, USA - Political Activities)
- 1 - 100-3-70 (CP, USA - Legislative Activities)
- 1 - 100-3-83 (CP, USA - Domestic Administrative Issues)
- 1 - 100-3-89 (CP, USA - Strategy in Industry)
- 1 - 100-3-75 (CP, USA - Negro Question)
- 1 - 100-3-76 (CP, USA - Youth Matters)
- 1 - 100-3-78 (CP, USA - Women's Matters)
- 1 - 100-3-86 (CP, USA - Pamphlets and Publications)
- 1 - 100-3-71 (CP, USA - Education)

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JPB:JAV/pbh
(145)

100-80638-1672

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SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
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Waters

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- 3 - Baltimore (RM)
 - 1 - 100-12076 (GEORGE MEYERS)
 - 1 - 100- [REDACTED]
 - 1 - 100-12464 (CP, USA - Organization)
- 2 - Boston (RM)
 - 1 - 100- 775 (HOMER CHASE)
 - 1 - 100-20779 (CP, USA - Organization)
- 2 - Buffalo (RM)
 - 1 - 100- [REDACTED]
 - 1 - 100- [REDACTED] (CP, USA - Organization)
- 3 - Cleveland (RM)
 - 1 - 65-721 (ANTON KRCHMAREK)
 - 1 - 100-222 [REDACTED]
 - 1 - 100-17257 (CP, USA - Organization)
- 5 - Detroit (RM)
 - 1 - 100-13420 (CARL WINTER)
 - 1 - 100-13740 (HELEN WINTER)
 - 1 - 100-8482 [REDACTED]
 - 1 - 100-2050 (CP, USA - Organization)
- 2 - Indianapolis (RM)
 - 1 - 100-9529 (MANNY BLUM)
 - 1 - 100-11093 (CP, USA - Organization)
- 6 - Los Angeles (RM)
 - 1 - 100-4486 (DOROTHY HEALEY)
 - 1 - 100-52571 [REDACTED]
 - 1 - 100-4663 (BEN DOBBS)
 - 1 - 100- [REDACTED] (PETTIS PERRY)
 - 1 - 100-24766 [REDACTED]
 - 1 - 100-26044 (CP, USA - Organization)
- 2 - Milwaukee (RM)
 - 1 - 100-4 [REDACTED] (FRED BLAIR)
 - 1 - 100-42-I (CP, USA - Organization)
- 3 - Minneapolis (RM)
 - 1 - 100-371 [REDACTED]
 - 1 - 100-1902 [REDACTED]
 - 1 - 100-1878 (CP, USA - Organization)
- 2 - Newark (RM)
 - 1 - 100-19491 (PAT TOOHEY)
 - 1 - 100-4284 (CP, USA - Organization)

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51 - New York (RM)

- 1 - 100-18065 (JACK STACHEL)
- 1 - 100-23825 (BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR.)
- 1 - 100-79025 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-95550 (PAUL ROBESON, JR.)
- 1 - 100-54555 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-84275 (WILLIAM L. PATTERSON)
- 1 - 100-24891 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-118174 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-15946 (JAMES TORMEY)
- 1 - 100-13483 (BETTY GANNETT)
- 1 - 100-93665 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100- [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-9595 (WILLIAM WEINSTONE)
- 1 - 100-48033 (IRVING POTASH)
- 1 - 100-26018 (LOUIS WEINSTOCK)
- 1 - 100-32826 (JAMES ALLEN)
- 1 - 100-56579 (PHIL BART)
- 1 - 100-25623 (ERIC BERT)
- 1 - 100-13473 (SI GERSON)
- 1 - 101-559 (JESUS COLON)
- 1 - 100-16785 (JAMES JACKSON)
- 1 - 100-105078 (HY LUMER)
- 1 - 100-50094 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-79937 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-80532 (HERBERT APTHEKER)
- 1 - 100-129629 (WILLIAM ALBERTSON)
- 1 - 100-1696 (ELIZABETH GIBBLEY FLYNN)
- 1 - 100- [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100- [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-13203 (GEORGE MORRIS)
- 1 - 100-13444 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-64074 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-84994 (GUS HALL)
- 1 - 100-16021 (ARNOLD JOHNSON)
- (1) - 100- (CP, USA - Membership)

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1 - 100- (CP, USA - Funds)
1 - 100- (CP, USA - Factionalism)
1 - 100- (CP, USA - International Relations)
1 - 100- (CP, USA - Political Activities)
1 - 100- (CP, USA - Legislative Activities)
1 - 100- (CP, USA - Domestic Administration Issues)
1 - 100- (CP, USA - Strategy in Industry)
1 - 100- (CP, USA - Negro Question)
1 - 100- (CP, USA - Youth Matters)
1 - 100- (CP, USA - Pamphlets and Publications)
1 - 100- (CP, USA - Education)
1 - 100- (CP, USA - Brief to Establish Illegal Status)
1 - 100- (CP, USA - Attempt to Infiltrate Mass
Organizations)
1 - 100- ("The Worker")
1 - 100- (Amnesty for GIL GREEN and HENRY WINSTON)
1 - 100-80641^{SUB} (CP, USA - Organization) (17th National Conventio^{b6}
3 - Philadelphia (RM) b7C
1 - 65-1686 (TOM NABRIED)
1 - 100- [REDACTED]
1 - 100-31723 (CP, USA - Organization)
2 - Portland (RM)
1 - 100- [REDACTED]
1 - 100-3952 (CP, USA - Organization)
3 - St. Louis (RM)
1 - 100-6970 [REDACTED]
1 - 100- [REDACTED]
1 - 100-7781 (CP, USA - Organization)
6 - San Francisco (RM)
1 - 100- [REDACTED]
1 - 65-1242 (MICKEY LIMA)
1 - 61-398 [REDACTED]
1 - 100- [REDACTED]
1 - 61-415 (AL RICHMOND)
1 - 100-27747 (CP, USA - Organization)
2 - San Juan (RM)
1 - 100 (JUAN SANTOS RIVERA)
1 - 100- (CP, USA - Organization)
3 - Seattle (RM)
1 - 100-127 [REDACTED]
1 - 100- [REDACTED]
1 - 100- (CP, USA - Organization)
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1 - Washington Field
1 - 100- (CP, USA - Organization)
30 - Chicago

- [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-644 [REDACTED]
 - 1 - 100-3470 (MORRIS CHILDS)
 - 1 - 100-21073 (LESTER DAVIS)
 - 1 - 100-33148 [REDACTED]
 - 1 - 100-12890 (EARL DURHAM)
 - 1 - 100-12459 (FLO HALL)
 - 1 - 100-29709 [REDACTED]
 - 1 - 100-18457 [REDACTED]
 - 1 - 100-3313 (JACK KLING)
 - 1 - 100-2748 (SAM KUSHNER)
 - 1 - 61-867 (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
 - 1 - 100-12789 (GERALDYNE LIGHTFOOT)
 - 1 - 100-30108 [REDACTED]
 - 1 - 100-20278 [REDACTED]
 - 1 - 100-20289 [REDACTED]
 - 1 - 100-4031 (MOLLIE WEST)
 - 1 - 100-22483 [REDACTED]
 - 1 - 100-13763 [REDACTED]
 - 1 - 100-24020 [REDACTED]
 - 1 - 100-8261 (Cominfil, NAACP)
 - 1 - 100-35162 (Afro-American Heritage Association)
 - 1 - 100-18953 (CP, USA, Illinois District - Organization)
 - 1 - 100-18963 (CP, USA, Illinois District - Factionalism)
 - 1 - 100-18961 (CP, USA, Illinois District - International Relations)
 - 1 - 100-17977 (CP, USA, Illinois District - Political Activities)
 - 1 - 100-18954 (CP, USA, Illinois District - Legislative Activities)
 - 1 - 100-1949/ (CP, USA, Illinois District - Domestic Administration Issues)
 - 1 - 100-34438 (CP, USA, Illinois District - Attempts to Infiltrate Mass Organizations)

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Chicago, Illinois
December 16, 1959

The 17th National Convention of the Communist Party, USA, was held at the Hotel Theresa, 125th Street and 7th Avenue, New York City, on December 10, 11, 12 and 13, 1959.

There was confusion as to the start of the Convention among the members of the delegation from Chicago, which accounted for most of the Chicago delegation missing the first day session of the Convention. CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, Chairman of the CP of Illinois, advised a number of the delegates and guests from Chicago that the Convention would not be open for delegates and guests until 7:00 p.m. on December 10, 1959. When it was pointed out to LIGHTFOOT that the Convention had started on the morning of the 10th, he stated that he had received erroneous information.

The following individuals were known to have attended the Convention. Because of the large number of people, it is not known if they attended all sessions of the Convention, but they were in attendance at least one day of the Convention:

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New York Delegation

JACK STACHEL
BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR.

[REDACTED]
PAUL ROBESON, JR.

[REDACTED]
BETTY GANNETT
MIRIAM —

[REDACTED]
WILLIAM WEINSTONE
IRVING POTASH
LOUIS WEINSTOCK
JAMES ALLEN
PHIL BART
ERIE BERT
SI GERSON
JESUS COLON
JAMES JACKSON

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON

[REDACTED]
JAMES TORMEY

[REDACTED]
HERBERT APTHEKER
WILLIAM ALBERTSON
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN
AARON —
NINO —
GEORGE MORRIS

[REDACTED]
GUS HALL
ARNOLD JOHNSON
HY LUMER

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Chicago Delegation

[redacted]
MORRIS CHILDS
LESTER DAVIS
[redacted] (alternate delegate)
EARL DURHAM
FLO HALL
[redacted] (guest)
[redacted] (guest)
JACK KLING
SAM KUSHNER
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
GERALDYNE LIGHTFOOT
[redacted] (representing youth)
[redacted]
MOLLIE WEST
[redacted] (guest)

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Baltimore

GEORGE MEYER

Northern California

JUANITA —
MICKEY LIMA
[redacted]
ROSCOE —
AL RICHMOND

Southern California

DOROTHY HEALEY
[redacted]
— DOBBS
PETTIS PERRY

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Eastern Pennsylvania

THOMAS NABRY (phonetic)
DANNY — (from Philadelphia, representing youth)

Michigan

[REDACTED]
CARL WINTER
[REDACTED]
COLEMAN — (Negro male)

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Minnesota

[REDACTED]

Ohio

ED —
— KRCHMAREK

Maryland

Comrade JAKE —

Missouri

[REDACTED]

New England

HOMER CHASE

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New Jersey

PAT TOOHEY

Indiana

MANNY BLUM

South

T. ROBINSON
S. FRASER
CORNELIUS —

Oregon

[REDACTED] (phonetic)

Washington State

BURT NELSON

Wisconsin

FRED BLAIR

In addition to the above, the following were also known to have attended:

MORT — (from Buffalo)

[REDACTED]
CALVIN —

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Only the last few minutes of the first day's session was observed. At that time, PAT TOOHEY was elected temporary Chairman of the Latin American Affairs Committee. The motion was also passed that JIM ALLEN would conduct a meeting on Party Principles in the absence of MOLLIE WEST, the Chairman from Illinois who would arrive at the Convention the following day. The Convention adjourned about 6:30 p.m.

The following individuals met after the Convention on December 10, 1959, to discuss the Negro Question Resolution:

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT - Chairman
LESTER DAVIS



PETTIS PERRY
PAUL ROBESON, JR.
JAMES JACKSON

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LIGHTFOOT spoke on the Negro Question and highlighted the fact that the CP must overcome its isolation from the mainstream of the masses, and must take a positive approach towards the Negro Question. The slogan "self-determination" will have to be eliminated.

LIGHTFOOT then outlined thirteen points which the CP must solve in regard to the Negro people, each point relating to the rebuilding of the party.

PETTIS PERRY was opposed to the dropping of the slogan "self-determination." Before such steps would be taken to drop it, he wanted to go on record that this question be studied and evaluated. The Negro people do constitute a nation, in his opinion.

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PAUL ROBESON, JR. supported PETTIS PERRY in retaining the slogan of self-determination.

JIM JACKSON made a speech supporting CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT in dropping the slogan of self-determination.

A resolution was made to accept the main line of the Negro Resolution and drop the slogan of self-determination. When the resolution came to a vote, there was a debate about dropping the slogan.

PETTIS PERRY was able to get an amendment to the main line of the Negro Resolution that the slogan of self-determination will be considered for further study.

Morning Session

December 11, 1959

This session convened at 10:30 a.m. and was chaired by PAT TOOHEY, New Jersey State Chairman of the CP.

Remarks by LOUIS WEINSTOCK

WEINSTOCK advised that he concurred in the keynote address of GUS HALL. WEINSTOCK said that he had recently visited Europe and talked with trade union people there, and was impressed with the esteem that the people of Europe hold the CP, USA. WEINSTOCK also talked of the disagreement among the trade union committee held the previous night.

Remarks by CARL WINTER

CARL WINTER questioned the interest of American newspapers in the Convention, when these papers branded the Party as weak and ineffectual. WINTER's remark was based on an attempted interview by a "New York Times" reporter who attempted to interview one of the delegates, AL RICHMOND.

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WINTER read greetings from the Central Committee of the CP of the Soviet Union to the CP, USA, for struggling for the liberties and living conditions of the American working class. The CPSU commended the CP, USA, for maintaining the principles of Marxism-Leninism and fighting the factionalists.

WINTER also announced that the Party had received greetings from the Communist Parties of Sweden, Hungary, England, and Australia.

PAT TOOHEY announced that JUAN SANTOS RIVERA, President of the CP of Puerto Rico, was supposed to attend the Convention, but was in the hospital because of an auto accident. A committee had been formed to visit RIVERA in the hospital.

Remarks by JAMES JACKSON

JAMES JACKSON spoke on the World Communist Movement and stated that the Party is still leading in the fight for peace and friendship with the Soviet Union. He stated that the Party has grown in prestige since the last Convention. He stated that the CP, USA, and the Parties of the other nations, have a common bond in their fight for the working classes of all nations. He stated that the Parties of the various nations owe their allegiance to their own nations and class first and are not bound to the CP of the Soviet Union.

JACKSON stated that Soviet-American friendship is growing and that the CP is leading the colonial peoples of South America and Africa in their fight for freedom.

Remarks by [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] stated that the CP in San Francisco is promoting trade and peace with China and promoting social welfare programs.

He stated that party morale has been low but things are changing for the Party. He said they have started classes for young people and expect to recruit these young people into the Party.

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**Report on the Trade Union Resolution
by IRVING POTASH**

IRVING POTASH gave a report on the Trade Union Resolution, stating that the Trade Union Committee had come to a general agreement on the Resolution. He stated that the Trade Union Committee should put further emphasis on the Landrum-Griffin Bill, the steel strike, and the role of youth. The committee should also act on the farm-labor question in California and the problem of automation.

Afternoon Session

December 11, 1959

This session convened about 2:30 p.m. [redacted] was elected Chairman of this session.

Remarks by [redacted] for Presiding Committee

[redacted] made the following proposals for the Presiding Committee:

1. No committees shall meet while the Convention is in session.
2. Proposed a committee to visit JUAN SANTOS RIVERA, President of the CP of Puerto Rico, who is in the hospital.
3. Concerning procedure at the Convention, the speakers shall give a report, which will be followed by discussion and then offer any amendments.
4. There shall be two speakers for and two speakers against a proposal with a time limit of three minutes for each proposal.

The above proposals were voted upon and carried by the Convention.

Remarks by KRCHMARCK on the Steel Strike

KRCHMARCK said that the steel strike is an example of the increasing offensive by the monopolies against the working classes. KRCHMARCK highlighted the fact that automation will cause the loss of thousands of jobs. He emphasized that the CP must take a stronger role in the Trade Union Movement, and particularly in the steel strike.

[redacted] called for Communists in the trade unions to work for more trade with the Socialist nations.

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DOROTHY HEALY, from California, emphasized the struggle of the Party as an anti-monopoly coalition.

MANNY BLUM, from Indiana, called for the Party to strengthen and encourage the steel workers in their strike against monopoly.

Chairman [redacted] announced that the proposal on the Trade Union Resolution had been carried.

Remarks by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT on the Negro Resolution

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT announced that the Committee on the Negro Question had unanimously commended JIM JACKSON for his fine work on the Negro Question.

LIGHTFOOT stated that the Committee had worked into the early hours on the Resolution and that the Committee agreed to follow the main line of the Resolution. He stated that the Committee had voted to drop the slogan "self-determination" but that this was not meant to minimize the importance of the Negro Question.

LIGHTFOOT remarked that the Moslem Movement was growing among the Negro people, and that it was a Nationalistic Movement which encourages race pride.

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EARL DURHAM said that he supported the Resolution on the Negro Question, and he felt that the Party has helped in the advance of the Negro people.

JIM TORMEY agreed that the slogan "self-determination" should be dropped.

[redacted] was of the opinion that the Negro Resolution should have put more emphasis on the role of youth and women.

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[redacted] remarked that the Party must depend on women in the struggle and that she is one of the oldest Negro women in the Party.

WILLIAM PATTERSON said that the fight for the rights of the Negro is a fight for the rights of all, and he wanted the Party to bring before the United Nations the oppression of the Negro people in the United States.

There was much discussion on the slogan "self-determination", and whether a vote could be taken on the Resolution with the opposing opinions on the slogan.

A vote was taken on a motion to defer action on this Resolution, which was opposed by the majority. There was another vote on the original resolution and this was adopted. This session was then adjourned.

Evening Session

December 11, 1959

This session convened about 8:30 p.m. and GEORGE MEYER was proposed and elected as Chairman.

A greeting from TIM BUCK, CP of Canada, was played, in which he stated that the CP of Canada had succeeded in weeding out the revisionists and that KHRUSHCHEV's visit was an ending of the cold war.

CG 100-33741

It was announced that EUGENE DENNIS had suffered a stroke and could not attend the Convention.

Report by BEN DAVIS, JR. on
the 1960 Election

DAVIS listed the following individuals on the Election Committee, which can be recalled:

DOROTHY HEALEY

ARNOLD JOHNSON
JACK STACHEL

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DAVIS made an attack on GEORGE MEANY, whom he accused of intensifying the cold war. He said that the Party must take advantage of the dissatisfaction in the ranks of labor and the Negro people to develop a new political movement. He stated that the Party should push the candidacy of a Negro running for the United States Senate.

CARL WINTER stressed the importance of peace and co-existence. He said that the Republicans, who have been regarded as the enemy of labor, have taken the initiative towards world peace while the Democrats, who are supposed to be the friends of labor, are adopting a cold war policy.

Report of the Credentials Committee

The Credentials Committee reported that there was a total of 187 people were in attendance, with an additional 41 for this evening session for a total of 228. Of the 187, the following is the breakdown:

131 regular delegates
25 alternate delegates
15 fraternal delegates
16 visitors

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The delegates came from the following districts:

New York
New Jersey
Illinois
Ohio
Pennsylvania
New England
Michigan ...
Maryland
Indiana
Wisconsin
Missouri
State of Washington
Oregon
California
Texas
Minnesota
Florida

It was stated that there was 29 members in attendance who were aged 25 to 35. There were 33 Negroes, 129 males and 39 females.

This meeting adjourned about 10:30 p.m.

Morning Session

December 12, 1959

The chairman of this session was CLARENCE HATHAWAY. JAMES JACKSON read greetings from the CP of China, in which the CP of China praised the CP, USA, in its fight for democracy and world peace, and defending the rights of the working classes.

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Party Organization by PHIL BART

BART said that the Committee on Party Organization was mainly concerned with the amendments to the Resolutions concerning the United Front Movement. BART stressed the importance of the party club in the mass work of the Party. He pointed out the importance of recruiting women, particularly Negro women. He said this resolution should be discussed by the clubs, after which proposals should be adopted by the districts.

BETTY GANNETT on Education

BETTY GANNETT gave an emotional talk on education by the Party and the necessity of developing the Party cadre. She said that the American people are more receptive to Socialism because of the lessening of the cold war tensions.

[redacted]

[redacted] said that there must be more people in mass work and there must be a closer relationship between the members and the Party leaders. He stated that the members and leaders have not been working together. The committee has decided that the districts should have councils at which the club chairman and the members of the state committee can work together. This will result in fixing responsibility for decisions and policy.

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MORT on Party Rebuilding

MORT introduced a resolution on rebuilding the Party, in which the Convention propose a recruiting drive to increase the membership ten per cent by May Day, 1960. This resolution was adopted.

CG 100-33741

GERALDYNE LIGHTFOOT

GERALDYNE LIGHTFOOT said that members should rebuild the Party by intensifying their activities and role in the United front. LIGHTFOOT named the Afro-American Heritage Association in Chicago as an organization where successful mass work has been done. LIGHTFOOT passed out pamphlets on the Afro-American Heritage Association to the Convention.

THOMAS NABRY

NABRY said that GUS HALL's report set forth the manner in which the Party can be rebuilt and unified. He said that the Party must fight revisionism and factionalism. The club must be strengthened because it is through the club that the Party reaches the masses.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] read a letter from a political group at Columbia University, which invited EUGENE DENNIS to address the undergraduates.

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JUANITA

JUANITA read the Party's resolution on women and stressed the importance of the women's role in the Party. She said that particular attention must be paid by the Party to the role of the Negro and Mexican women. She illustrated the lack of success of the Party among Negro women by the few Negro women who were present at the Convention.

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WILLIAM PATTERSON

PATTERSON said that the fund quota of \$75,000 for "The Worker" was not reached and that a fund drive for "The Worker" be set in early 1960.

JACK STACHEL

JACK STACHEL proposed that the "Daily Worker" be published again by 1960.

National Committee by GUS HALL

GUS HALL proposed that the National Committee be composed of 50 members, of which 15 would be at large, and 35 elected from the various districts.

Afternoon Session December 12, 1959

GERALDYNE LIGHTFOOT was elected Chairman of this session.

BILL ALBERTSON's report on Youth

BILL ALBERTSON gave the report by the Youth Committee and said that American youth are showing a new interest in Socialism. He said this was shown in the Youth Festival in Vienna and the march on Washington. ALBERTSON proposed that the Party set up a National Committee on Youth.

[redacted] praised ALBERTSON for doing a good job on the youth report.

DANNY from Philadelphia

DANNY said that youth must be educated to know that their main enemy is monopoly.

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[redacted] from Chicago, Illinois.

[redacted] said that the most important issue in the civil rights issue has been in integrating the schools. He said that the youth have not been trained for skilled work in industry, particularly Negro youth, who get few skilled jobs in industry.

It was announced that the resolution on youth was carried.

Report by BURT NELSON on CP Constitution

NELSON proposed that the National Committee change the CP Constitution so that it conformed with the principles of Democratic Centralism.

This motion was approved by the Convention.

Morning Session December 13, 1959

[redacted] acted as chairman of this session.

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JACK KLING on Jewish Question

JACK KLING criticized the National Committee for not having properly prepared the resolution on the Jewish Question. KLING wanted the CP to take a stronger stand on the problems of the Jewish Community and support Israel.

GUS HALL

GUS HALL said that the Presiding Committee proposed that the members at large on the National Committee be increased from 15 to 25, bring the National Committee up to a total of 60. This motion was approved.

TOM NABRY

TOM NABRY stated that the Party must rid itself of factionalists which weaken the strength of the Party.

MORRIS CHILDS

MORRIS CHILDS gave a financial report on the Party. He stated that the income of the Party for the first nine months of 1959 was \$92,000, and that the Party presently has a surplus of \$2,200.

JUAN SANTOS RIVERA

JUAN SANTOS RIVERA of Puerto Rico spoke in Spanish which was translated into English by JESUS COLON. RIVERA sent greetings from the CP of Puerto Rico to the CP, USA, and told how he had been hit by a drunken driver when leaving a taxi at a friend's house. He said that he had sent a cablegram to the CP in New York to meet him at the airport, however, the cablegram was delayed and no one met him at the airport. He blamed the delay in the cablegram and the accident on the American Government and capitalists, who were deliberately trying to prevent him from attending the Convention.

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RIVERA's remarks were received with much enthusiasm by the Convention and flowers were presented to RIVERA by PAT TOOHEY.

PAT TOOHEY gave a report on Latin American Affairs in which he accused the State Department and the FBI of to overthrow the Cuban Government on behalf of the sugar interests.

[redacted] gave a report on Cuba and said that it was a surprise to him to return to Cuba and see the changes that have taken place since the CASTRO regime. He said that the economy has changed and there is no longer poverty in Cuba. He said that the situation of the farmers has improved very much and described a cooperative farm which he visited.

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ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN proposed that WILLIAM Z. FOSTER be elected as honorary chairman of the CP, USA, which was adopted by the Convention.

FLYNN then read a list of 25 names which she stated were the preferred nominations list of the Presiding Committee. These names were the following:

EUGENE DENNIS
GUS HALL
JIM JACKSON
HY LUMER
BEN DAVIS
ELIZABETH FLYNN
JACK SEAGUEL
IRVING POTASH
PHIL BOTT (phonetic)
CLARENCE HATHAWAY
HERBERT APTHEKER
JIM ALLEN
JESUS COLON
AL RICHMOND
HELEN ALISON
PETTIS PERRY
ARNOLD JOHNSON
GERALDYNE LIGHTFOOT
[redacted] (from Chicago)
DANNY (from Philadelphia)
WILL WEINSHORE (phonetic)
ERIC BERT

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WILLIAM PATTERSON
GEORGE MEYER
SI GERSON

The following were known to be nominated by the various districts for the National Committee:

Southern California

[REDACTED]

DOROTHY HEALEY
— DOBBS

Northern California

MICKEY LIMA
ROSCOE —
JUANITA —

Indiana

MANNY BLUM

Missouri

SI MARTIN

Wisconsin

FRED BLAIR

Minnesota

BEN DAVIS

Illinois

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

[REDACTED]

FLO HALL
SAM KUSHNER

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Michigan

CARL WINTER
TOMMY DENNIS

Ohio

— KRCHMAREK
ED —

After additional nominations, the delegates were instructed to vote for a maximum of 60 of which 25 were from the At Large list and 35 from the states.

A balloting committee was nominated and approved.

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN made an attack on the House Committee on Un-American Activities and stated she would write an article which would appear in "Political Affairs" in defense of the Party.

ARNOLD JOHNSON read a cablegram from the CP of Japan concerning a treaty between the government of Japan and the United States Government retaining American troops in Japan.

A motion was made to withdraw American troops from Japan which was approved.

GUS HALL gave a summarizing talk in which he stated that this Convention has been very successful in unifying the Party and fighting factionalism. The Party still has some factionalists but the leadership will rid the Party of all factionalists.

The election of members to the National Committee took considerable time and was completed until about midnight. The following is the results of the elections for the member at large and their vote:

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GUS HALL	131
DANNY (from East Pennsylvania)	126
JESUS COLON	122
JIM JACKSON	121
ELIZABETH FLYNN	120
GEORGE MEYER	118
HERBERT APTHEKER	117
WILLIAM PATTERSON	116
CLARENCE HATHAWAY	111
[REDACTED]	110
IRVING POTASH	109
HY LUMER	109
PETTIS PERRY	107
BEN DAVIS	107
ARNOLD JOHNSON	106
EUGENE DENNIS	104
GERALDYNE LIGHTFOOT	103
JAMES ALLEN	98
ERIC BURT	93
[REDACTED]	91
AL RICHMOND	87
JACK STACHEL	84
PHIL BART	84
SI GEARSON (phonetic)	77
[REDACTED]	63

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The following were the results of the ballots
for the districts:

New England

HOMER CHASE

New Jersey

PAT TOOHEY

Maryland

JAKE -

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Eastern Pennsylvania

TOM NABRY (phonetic)

State of Washington

BURT NELSON

Oregon

[REDACTED] (phonetic)

South

T. ROBINSON	127
S. FRASER	127
CORNELIUS —	

Chicago

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT	119
FLO HALL	
SAM KUSHNER	

[REDACTED]

Minnesota

— DAVIS	123
---------	-----

Northern California

JUANITA —	117
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Wisconsin

— BLAIR	123
---------	-----

Michigan

— DENNIS	116
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Missouri

C. MARTIN	122
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In addition to the above, it was learned that the following were named from the districts, which district

CG 100-33741

cannot be recalled:

ED — — KRCHMAREK 125
CARL WINTER

It was learned that SAM KUSHNER from the Illinois delegate was upset over the fact that NATE SHARPE was a possible nominee from Illinois for the National Committee and therefore displace KUSHNER. KUSHNER persuaded SHARPE not to run for the National Committee.

DECODED COPY

Radio

Teletype

DEFERRED 12/28/59

TO: WASHINGTON AND SAC NEW YORK

FROM: SAC HONOLULU

CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP, IS DASH C. RE BUFILE ONE HUNDRED DASH THREE DASH SIXTYEIGHT. REBULET TO NEW YORK DECEMBER TWO LAST. MEMBERSHIP FIGURE FOR HAWAII WILL REMAIN SAME. NO COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERS.

TOR: 9:39 AM 12/29/59 FJS

DEC: 11:46 PM 12/29/59 ETC

100-20638-1673

Waters

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
DEC 29 1959	
<i>Waters Jnl</i>	

F B I

Date: 12/28/59

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: SAC, NEW YORK

FROM: SAC, KNOXVILLE (100-1984)

✓ COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
MEMBERSHIP
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Re Bureau letter to New York December 2, 1959,
requesting membership figures from auxiliary offices for
quarterly period ending December 31, 1959.

There are no known individuals identified as
Communist Party members residing Knoxville Division and
information from confidential sources and investigation
failed to reflect information that there is any current
Communist Party activities, or an active Communist Party
member in this Division.

This membership data reflects no change from
previous quarterly report. There have been no members
positively, or tentatively, identified during the preceding
twelve months period as Communist Party members in the
Knoxville Division.

- ③ - New York (REGISTERED MAIL)
- (1 - CP, USA - Southern Region)
- 2 - Knoxville (100-1984) (100-307)

TAS/emd
(5)

S.V. Walters 100-80638-1674

SEARCHED _____ INDEXED _____
SERIALIZED _____ FILED _____
DEC 29 1959
FBI - NEW YORK
Walters JTW

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

Roy

OFFICE MEMORANDUM - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, BALTIMORE [redacted]

DATE: 12/22/59

FROM : SA ROBERT C. NORTON

SUBJECT: INFORMATION FURNISHED
BY SECURITY INFORMANT

b7D

The documentation for this information is as follows:

Identity of Source	Date of Activity And/or Description of Information	Date Furn.	Agent	Location
[redacted] (who has furnished reliable information in the past)	12/12/59, 17th CP national convention	12/16/59	ROBERT C. NORTON (Written)	[redacted]

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THIS INFORMATION IN ORDER THAT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT MAY BE FULLY PROTECTED

The text of the informant's statement is as follows:

cc's:

1 - Washington Field (Registered Mail)
ORGANIZATION, MARYLAND - D.C.

3 - Los Angeles (Registered Mail)

[redacted]
MEMBERSHIP
NEGRO QUESTION

1 - Buffalo (Registered Mail)
ROSEN

16 - New York (Registered Mail)
100-80641-Sub B 17TH-NATIONAL CONVENTION

MEMBERSHIP
GUS HALL
BEN DAVIS
HYMAN LUMER
JAMES JACKSON

J.W. WATERS
100-80638-1675
SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
DEC 29 1959
NEW YORK
J. J. [unclear]
415

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BALTIMORE, MD.
DEC. 22, 1959
[initials]

Copies continued on page 1A

RCN/sms
(25) *sms*

ok

[REDACTED]

cc's:

16- New York (Registered Mail) (Cont'd)

IRVING POTASH
HERBERT APTHEKER
WILLIAM PATTERSON
ERIK BERT
NEGRO QUESTION
PAMPHLETS & PUBLICATIONS
BILL ALBERTSON
ARNOLD JOHNSON
WOMEN
YOUTH

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b7D

4 - Baltimore

100-12464 ORGANIZATION, MARYLAND - D.C.

100-12076 GEORGE MEYERS

100-10584 [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b7D

"Baltimore, Maryland
December 16, 1959

The following report concerns activities at and in connection with the 17th CP national convention held at the Hotel Theresa, 125th Street and 7th Avenue, New York City, on December 12, 1959.

GEORGE MEYERS and [REDACTED] regular and alternate delegates to the convention from the Maryland - D. C. District, who were in residence at the Stanford Hotel, New York City, got ready to go to the convention at about 7:00 AM, MEYERS pointing out that he had to meet a subcommittee on elections.

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MEYERS asked [REDACTED] if he had anyone in mind to propose for National Committee membership, and then stated that he intended to support GUS HALL, BEN DAVIS, HYMAN LUMER, JAMES JACKSON, IRVING POTASH, HERBERT APTHEKER, WILLIAM PATTERSON, ERIK BERT and a few others. MEYERS said that he did not see eye to eye with all of these individuals, but they were the best of the lot.

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MEYERS then asked [REDACTED] if he wanted to become a National Committee member. [REDACTED] replied that he was interested but not if it meant that MEYERS would be denied the appointment. MEYERS then said that he had discussed [REDACTED] appointment to the National Committee the evening before with GUS HALL, BEN DAVIS and others, and it had been decided that [REDACTED] would be the National Committeeman representing the District while MEYERS would be a representative from the Committee At Large.

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MEYERS said that it was possible he might not get the appointment but did not care since more Negroes were needed on the National Committee.

MEYERS then told [REDACTED] that during the day there would be an unofficial meeting with CP leaders, [REDACTED] and himself to discuss [REDACTED] appointment to the National Committee.

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MEYERS and [REDACTED] then left for the convention, which got under way at about 10:20 AM. GUS HALL presented a resolution entitled, "Draft Declaration of Aims and Tasks". A discussion followed.

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[REDACTED]

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BILL ALBERTSON then reported on youth.

During the recess for lunch, [REDACTED] went to the Palm Cafe on 125th Street and had lunch with a Negro woman from Southern California named [REDACTED]

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During the luncheon, [REDACTED] said that there was a CP membership in her area of about 150 to 200 people, although not all of those were active. She said there was a very small Negro membership. She mentioned that she had four children and her husband was a CP member but not as active in the work as she.

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About 2:30 PM, the convention resumed.

During the afternoon session, GEORGE MEYERS asked [REDACTED] to leave the convention and they went to a mimeograph room on the 11th floor, where a group was assembled which included BEN DAVIS, ARNOLD JOHNSON, GUS HALL, HYMAN LUMER and JAMES JACKSON.

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MEYERS presented [REDACTED] to the others, and asked how they felt about [REDACTED] becoming a member of the National Committee. He said that the Maryland - D. C. group attending the convention had decided [REDACTED] would run for the National Committee as the state representative while he would run for Committeeman as a member at large.

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HALL said he had no objection at all. He noted that the National Committee needed more Negro representatives, as well as representatives from industry, from women and even youth. HALL stated that from what he knew of [REDACTED] activities in Baltimore and from what [REDACTED] had accomplished on the Negro subcommittee at the convention in helping to effect the acceptance of the Draft Resolution on the Negro Question, [REDACTED] would make an excellent Committeeman.

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[REDACTED]

BEN DAVIS then spoke highly of [REDACTED] mentioning his work in Baltimore. The others who had known and visited [REDACTED] at his home, which included JACKSON and LUMER, also commented favorably.

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HALL then told [REDACTED] that his election to the National Committee was automatic, and felt that his future work on the Committee would be valuable.

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The group then returned to the convention, where HALL made a report on the subcommittee which had handled nominations for the National Committee.

Discussion then took place, and it was finally decided that National Committee members would consist of 35 state representatives and 25 members at large.

HALL told the convention that elections for the National Committee would take place on Sunday by secret ballot.

HALL then presented the subcommittee's recommendations for the 25 people to be on the National Committee as members at large.

ROSEN from Buffalo then objected, stating that additional nominations from the floor should be made and then nominated one person. Four other nominations were also made from the floor. (It is to be noted that the five individuals who were nominated from the floor were all defeated.)

HALL then presented the names of the 35 people who were to be National Committeemen representing the various states. This list was accepted unanimously.

An announcement was then made that there would be a social affair that evening for the delegates.

The convention adjourned at about 6:30 PM."

This memo has been compared with the informant's original statement and it is accurate in substance.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
ORGANIZATION
IS - C

DATE: 12-22-59

[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, on December 15 and 16, 1959, orally advised SA [redacted] of the 17th National Convention of the CP-USA which was held at the Theresa Hotel, New York City, on December 10-13, 1959. b6 b7C b7D

This oral information was written up in narrative report form and subsequently returned to [redacted] for his approval and signature. The signed original narrative report is located in [redacted]. b7D

[redacted] on December 15, 1959, made available for photostating copies of all Convention documents set forth on page two of his report. Photostat copies of these documents will be retained in the Chicago Office.. b7D

- 17 - Bureau (RM)(AMSD)
 - 1-100-3-68 (CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP)
 - 1-100-3-63 (CP, USA, FUNDS)
 - 1-100-3-88 (CP, USA, FACTIONALISM)
 - 1-100-3-81 (CP, USA, INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
 - 1-100-3-72 (CP, USA, POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)
 - 1-100-3-70 (CP, USA, LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES)
 - 1-100-3-83 (CP, USA, DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION ISSUES)
 - 1-100-3-89 (CP, USA, STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)
 - 1-100-3-75 (CP, USA, NEGRO QUESTION)
 - 1-100-3-76 (CP, USA, YOUTH MATTERS)
 - 1-100-3-78 (CP, USA, WOMENS MATTERS)
 - 1-100-3-79 (CP, USA, FARMERS MATTERS)
 - 1-100-3-91 (CP, USA, NATIONAL GROUPS COMMISSION)
 - 1-100-3-86 (CP, USA, PAMPHLETS & PUBLICATIONS)
 - 1-100-3-71 (CP, USA, EDUCATION)

- 3 - Baltimore (RM)
 - 1-100-12464 (GEORGE MEYERS)
 - 1-100- [redacted]
 - 1-100- (CP, USA, ORGANIZATION)

(Copies continued on ii page)
REB:mec
(157)

100-206-32-1676

Jed Waters

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SERIALIZED	FILED
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FBI - NEW YORK	

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CG 100-33741

- 2 - Boston (RM)
1-100- 775 (HOMER CHASE)
1-100- (CP, USA, ORGANIZATION)
- 2 - Buffalo (RM)
1-100- 10454 [REDACTED]
1-100- (CP, USA, ORGANIZATION)
- 2 - Cleveland (RM)
1-100- (ANTON KRCHMAREK)
1-100- (CP, USA, ORGANIZATION)
- 6 - Detroit (RM)
1-100- [REDACTED]
1-100- [REDACTED]
1-100- 13420 (CARL WINTER)
1-100- 13740 (HELEN WINTER)
1-100- [REDACTED]
1-100- (CP, USA, ORGANIZATION)
- 3 - Indianapolis (RM)
1-100- 9529 (MANNY BLUM)
1-100- (VAUD BENNETT)
1-100- (CP, USA, ORGANIZATION)
- 6 - Los Angeles (RM)
1-100- 24766 [REDACTED]
1-100- [REDACTED]
1-100- [REDACTED]
1-100- (PETTIS PERRY)
1-100- 52571 [REDACTED]
1-100- 86044 (CP, USA, ORGANIZATION)
1-100- (DOROTHY HEALEY)
- 2 - Milwaukee (RM)
1-100- 4 (FRED BLAIR)
1-100- 42-1 (CP, USA, ORGANIZATION)
- 2 - Minneapolis (RM)
1-100- 1902 (CLARENCE HATHAWAY)
1-100- 1878-P (CP, USA, ORGANIZATION)
- 2 - Newark (RM)
1-100- 19491 (PAT TOOHEY)
1-100- 4284 (CP, USA, ORGANIZATION)

(Copies continued on iii page)

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51 = New York (RM) (AMSD)
1-100- (WILLIAM L. PATTERSON)
1-100- (HERB APTHEKER)
1-100-23825 (BEN DAVIS, JR.)
1-100-16021 (ARNOLD JOHNSON)
1-100-13483 (BETTY GANNETT)
1-100-54555 [REDACTED]
1-100-9365 (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER)
1-100-18065 (JACK STACHEL)
1-100-228 (JUNE GORDON)
1-100-56579 (PHIL BART)
1-100-84994 (GUS HALL)
1-100-559 (JESUS COLON)
1-100-95550 (PAUL ROBESON, JR.)
1-100-118174 [REDACTED]
1-100- (GENE DENNIS)
1-100-16785 (JIM JACKSON)
1-100-105078 (HY LUMER)
1-100-1696 (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN)
1-100-48033 (IRVING POTASH)
1-100-9595 (WILLIAM WEINSTONE)
1-100-25623 (ERIC BURT)
1-100-13473 (SI GERSON)
1-100-13444 [REDACTED]
1-100-13203 (GEORGE MORRIS)
1-100-79025 [REDACTED]
1-100- [REDACTED]
1-100-129629 (BILL ALBERTSON)
1-100-15946 (JIM TORMEY)
1-100- [REDACTED]
1-100- (HENRY WINSTON)
1-100-64074 [REDACTED]
1-100-26018 (LOUIS WEINSTOCK)
1-100- ("THE WORKER")
1-100- (AMNESTY FOR GIL GREEN & HENRY WINSTON)
1-100- (CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP)
1-100- (" FUNDS)
1-100- (" FACTIONALISM)
1-100- (" INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
1-100- (" POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)
1-100- (" LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES)
1-100- (" DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION ISSUES)
1-100- (" STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)
1-100- (" NEGRO QUESTION)
1-100- (" YOUTH MATTERS)
1-100- (" WOMENS MATTERS)

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CG 100-33741

1-100- (CP, USA, FARMERS MATTERS)
1-100- (" NATIONAL GROUPS COMMISSION)
1-100- (" PAMPHLETS & PUBLICATIONS)
1-100- (" EDUCATION)
1-100- (" BRIEF TO ESTABLISH ILLEGAL STATUS)
1-100- (CP ATTEMPTS TO INFILTRATE MASS ORGANIZATIONS)

3 - Philadelphia (RM) 2 - Portland (RM)
1-100- (TOM NABRIED) 1-100- (N. HAALAND)
1-100- [REDACTED] 1-100- (CP, USA, ORGANIZATION)
1-100- (CP, USA, ORGANIZATION) ORGANIZATION)

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3 - St. Louis (RM)
1-100- 6970 (HERSCHEL WALKER)
1-100- (C. MARTIN)
1-100- (CP, USA, ORGANIZATION)

7 - San Francisco (RM)
1-100- [REDACTED]
1-100- (AL RICHMOND)
1-100- [REDACTED]
1-100- 27988 [REDACTED]
1-100- (MICKEY LIMA)
1-100- [REDACTED]
1-100- (CP, USA, ORGANIZATION)

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2 - San Juan (RM)
1-100- (JUAN SANTOS RIVERA)
1-100- (CP, USA, ORGANIZATION)

2 - Seattle (RM)
1-100- 127 (BURT NELSON)
1-100- (CP, USA, ORGANIZATION)

1 - Washington Field (RM)
1-100- (CP, USA, ORGANIZATION)

38- Chicago
[REDACTED]
1- 61-867 (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
1-100-20289 [REDACTED]
1-100-12459 (FLO HALL)
1-100-2748 (SAM KUSHNER)
1-100-12890 (EARL DURHAM)

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1-100-12789	(GERALDYNE LIGHTFOOT)	
1-100-22483	[REDACTED]	
1-100-3313	(JACK KLING)	
1-100-30108	[REDACTED]	
1-100-4031	(MOLLIE GOLD)	
1-100-21073	(LESTER DAVIS)	
1-100-2749	(MOLLIE WEST)	
1-100-644	[REDACTED]	
1-100-22078	(NATHAN SHARPE)	
1-100-3470	(MORRIS CHILDS)	
1-100-33148	[REDACTED]	
1-100-18457	(RALPH TURNER)	
1-100-29709	[REDACTED]	
1-100-13263	(FRITZI ENGLESTEIN)	
1-100-	(GIL GREEN)	
1-100-18953	(CP, USA, ILL. DISTRICT, ORGANIZATION)	
1-100-18963	(" ")	FACTIONALISM)
1-100-18961	(" ")	INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
1-100-17977	(" ")	POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)
1-100-18954	(" ")	LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES)
1-100-19491	(" ")	DOMESTIC ADMIN. ISSUES)
1-100-19431	(" ")	STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)
1-100-18956	(" ")	NEGRO QUESTION)
1-100-18957	(" ")	YOUTH MATTERS)
1-100-19492	(" ")	WOMENS MATTERS)
1-100-18959	(" ")	FARMERS MATTERS)
1-100-19490	(" ")	NATIONAL GROUPS COMMISSION)
1-100-17965	(" ")	BRIEF)
1-100-34438	(CP ATTEMPTS TO INFILTRATE MASS ORGANIZATIONS)	
1-100-18209	(" ")	PAMPHLETS & PUBLICATIONS)
1-100-18338	(" ")	EDUCATION)

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It is to be noted that the Chicago Office is retaining a sufficient number of copies of the attached report in order that copies of this report may be furnished appropriate offices when [REDACTED] has had an opportunity to identify additional individuals at the Convention. Copies of this memo in some instances are not being channelized to subject casefiles until such time as [REDACTED] has had an opportunity to identify those individuals to whom he partially identified in the attached report especially when these individuals were speaking on the various resolution. By separate communication the Chicago Office has requested that photographs of individuals who attended the Convention be forwarded to Chicago for viewing by Chicago informants.

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December 15-16, 1959
Chicago, Illinois

The Communist Party - USA (CP) 17th National Convention was held on December 10-13, 1959, in the Theresa Hotel, 125th Street and 7th Avenue, New York City.

There were approximately 200 people in attendance at the plenary sessions of the Convention including delegates, alternates, fraternal delegates, visitors, and guests. The following persons were among those in attendance at this Convention and were believed to be either delegates or alternates. Because of the large number of people in attendance, it cannot be stated that the below listed people attended every session of the Convention on each day but they were in attendance for one or more sessions of the 17th National Convention.

WILLIAM ALBERTSON
PHIL BART
TED BASSETT
FRED BLAIR
VAUD BENNETT
HOMER CHASE
BEN DAVIS, JR.
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN
[REDACTED]

BETTY GANNETT
JUNE GORDON
SI GERSON
GUS HALL
DOROTHY HEALEY
JAMES JACKSON
ANTON KRCHMAREK
HY LUMER
[REDACTED]
GEORGE MORRIS
BURT NELSON
WILLIAM L. PATTERSON
IRVING POTASH
PAUL ROBESON, JR.
[REDACTED]

JACK SHULMAN
[REDACTED]
PAT TOOHEY
[REDACTED]
LOUIS WEINSTOCK
[REDACTED]

JAMES ALLEN
[REDACTED]

ERIC BURT
MANNY BLUM
[REDACTED]

JESUS COLON
[REDACTED]

CLARENCE HATHAWAY
[REDACTED]

ARNOLD JOHNSON
MICKEY LIMA
[REDACTED]

GEORGE MEYERS
[REDACTED]

THOMAS NABRIED
[REDACTED]

PETTIS PERRY
AL RICHMOND
[REDACTED]

JACK STACHEL
JIM TORMEY
ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG
[REDACTED]

WILLIAM WEINSTONE
[REDACTED]

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CARL WINTER
ISADORE WOFYSY
BEN DOBBS



CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
FLO HALL
EARL DURHAM



LESTER DAVIS

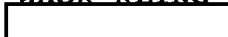


MORRIS CHILDS
RALPH TURNER
FRITZI ENGLESTEIN

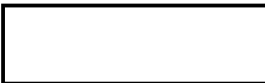
HELEN WINTER



SAM KUSHNER
GERALDYNE LIGHTFOOT
JACK KLING



MOLLIE WEST
NATE SHARPE



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A Convention kit which contained numerous documents was made available to delegates and alternates to the Convention. This kit contained the following material:

- a. Keynote address by GUS HALL, entitled "Let Us Set Our Sights to the Future."
- b. 17th Convention resolution on the Negro Question in the United States.
- c. Resolution on Cuba.
- d. Resolution on the work and status of women.
- e. Resolution on the Youth Question.
- f. Disarmament and the American economy.
- g. Report of the Constitution Committee.
- h. Resolution on Puerto Rican work in the United States.
- i. Resolution on "The Worker".
- j. Draft resolution on Party Organization.
- k. The Communist Party.
- l. Farm resolution.
- m. Report on the 1960 elections.
- n. Program material for the 17th National Convention, CP-USA.
- o. Document entitled "General Principles."
- p. Discussion article on the Negro Question by CYRIL BRIGGS.
- q. Discussion article on the Negro Question by M.A.
- r. Document entitled "An Old Problem Rediscussed."
- s. Document entitled "Some Comments on the Draft Resolution by PETTIS PERRY!"
- t. Pre-Convention discussion.

In introducing these resolutions some of the speakers used them as a guide while a few read them in their entirety to the Convention.

GUS HALL gave the keynote address at the opening of the 17th National Convention of the CP, USA. His keynote address was made available in the list of documents provided delegates to the National Convention.

Following the keynote address, greetings to the Convention were read from WILLIAM Z. FOSTER and EUGENE DENNIS, who were not in attendance. Other greetings were read to the Convention which had been sent by the Communist Parties of other countries. The election of the Presiding Committee and the election of the Election Committee were taken up next.

In the early part of the Convention, PAUL ROBESON, Jr. spoke on the main resolution.

MORRIS CHILDS of the Illinois District took issue with some of the things that PAUL ROBESON, Jr. had stated. CHILDS stated that he agreed with GUS HALL in that he saw no contradiction between the struggle for peace and the concept of fighting monopoly capital.

The full session of the National Convention was closed for the first day by a statement from GUS HALL. At this time HALL made a few brief announcements concerning matters to be taken up in the remaining portion of the Convention. HALL said that in setting up the Convention a few committees had been left out and at this time designated PAT TOOHEY as chairman of a committee on Latin-American affairs and JIM ALLEN was placed in charge of the committee on Party principles.

HALL then announced the following meetings for the committees which were to work during this Convention. These committees had apparently been set up prior to this time. It is also to be noted that the evening session of the first day of the Convention was devoted to individual meetings of these various committees. HALL announced the following:

<u>Committee</u>	<u>Location</u>
Defense	Room 829
Negro Resolution	Room 831
Constitution	Rear of auditorium
Party Organization	Room 1028

<u>Committee</u>	<u>Location</u>
Labor	Exhibition Room
Election	A Corner of the Hall
Youth	Check Room
Miscellaneous Resolutions	
Credentials	Kitchen
Latin-American Affairs	Front of Hall
Appeals and Audit	Room 1026
Statement on Party Principles	Technical Room
Women's Work	
Farm Question	
Press	
Presiding	

At this time the full formal session of the Convention adjourned. For the most part, the delegates were instructed to have dinner and then return to their various scheduled committee caucuses.

The CP, USA National Convention opened its second day's session at about 10:30 A.M. on December 11, 1959. PAT TOOHEY was elected chairman for this morning session.

A National Jewish Committee was proposed (a committee on Jewish work) with JACK KLING as chairman, [redacted] as members. b6 b7C

A nationality group committee was proposed with JACK STACHEL as chairman.

The discussion was to begin in this session, which was a continuation from the discussion from the previous day when CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT asked for a point of special privilege. LIGHTFOOT told the National Convention that the committee on Negro work had met far into the night and had met again early this morning but there were still many knotty and basic problems to be resolved. He requested of the Convention that the committee on Negro work be permitted to withdraw in order to try to complete their work because it was necessary to present the Negro resolution in the afternoon session.

This motion was introduced and passed and the members of the Negro Resolution Committee were asked to withdraw. (There

seemed to be some snickering around the Convention at this time because as the committee on Negro work withdrew, it was noted that many of the Negroes at the Convention got up to leave the Convention. It was noted that there were only three white people on this committee and all the rest were Negroes. This was later pointed out in a criticism in an attempt to indicate what was the real nature of the Negro Question in the Party; the fact that the people who are mainly interested in this question are the Negro comrades.)

[REDACTED]

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Near the end of the morning session on December 11, 1959 [REDACTED] was speaking about the fact that the strategical goal of the Party is socialism not anti-monopoly coalition. (It is to be noted that throughout the Convention the anti-monopoly coalition seemed to be the bone of contention. The theory was advanced in many of the resolutions that the building of the anti-monopoly coalition is a means of attainment of all of the goals of the Party. This anti-monopoly coalition would be a coalition between organized labor, Negroes, farmers, and other democratic minded forces.)

[REDACTED] pointed out that peaceful co-existence does not necessarily mean a tranquil existence because even if there was peace in a general sense there would still be things like Egypt and the Viet-Nams and other small conflicts breaking out all over. He added that as long as the great powers have a concept of peaceful co-existence, no real major conflicts will break out.

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Following these comments the Convention adjourned for lunch.

The Convention began again at approximately 2:00 p.m. at which time EVELYN WIENER was elected chairman. ARCHER BROWN made an announcement concerning a committee which had been arranged to visit a Puerto Rican comrade who had come to New York to attend the National Convention but had been involved in an automobile accident en route from the airport and was now hospitalized. He announced the following persons would be on this visiting committee:

JESUS COLON
WILLIAM L. PATTERSON
PAT TOOHEY
and one other from California

As the afternoon session began the discussion on trade union work which had been started in the morning session continued.

ANTON KRCHMAREK

KRCHMAREK said that one half million steel workers are now engaged in a battle with the steel trusts. He pointed out that the steel strike has within it all of the elements of the deepening crisis of capitalism. The steel workers are fighting against the steel company's right to introduce automation without any interference by the steel union. He pointed out that the issue in the steel strike is not primarily one of wages or better working conditions, but concerns the demand of the steel company to run the companies the way they want without any interferences from the steel unions. The way they seek to run it is with a callous disregard for the welfare of the workers.

KRCHMAREK then gave some very specific figures relating to steel production as compared to the number of steel workers involved in the production of the steel. He cited the various types of new furnaces that have been introduced throughout the years. He showed the direction in which the steel companies are moving in their continued efforts to eliminate steel workers without any approach to guaranteeing any rights to steel workers who have spent their lives in the steel mills.

The following speakers also commented during this period:

[redacted] from New York
DOROTHY HEALEY from California
NATE [redacted] (not from Chicago)
BILL [redacted] whose area was unknown
A farmer from California

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(The chairman at this time did a poor job in announcing the speakers because she gave their name and area while applause from the speaker immediately previous to the speaker was still going on. For that reason the names and areas could not be heard clearly.)

PAUL ROBESON, JR.

ROBESON stated that in his opinion one of the responsibilities of the leadership was to help the rank and file to understand the various reports. The central task of the entire

Party is to begin to defend the labor movement from its attacks.

GUS HALL

HALL took the floor to make an appeal to the delegates that if the Convention were to be completed on time and the work of the Convention was to be accomplished a great deal more discipline must be exhibited by the delegates.

HY LUMER

LUMER made a brief announcement of two books which were on sale. He urged all the delegates to buy them. The first was "Inside the Khrushchev Sphere" and the second was on the Party by ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN.

Committee on Negro Work,
Report by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

When LIGHTFOOT took the rostrum there was a tremendous ovation afforded him which indicated the support and respect he has in the CP, USA. LIGHTFOOT's comments began a discussion of the Negro question. He talked at great length on this question, pointing out the differences that the Committee on Negro Work had had in arriving at unanimity. He applauded the fact that the committee had reached unanimity, however, he noted that the resolution that he was offering was in his opinion the best example of collective thinking ever to come out of any Party body throughout its history. He said it had been hashed and rehashed and every single line of it represented collective effort. Every single line had been analyzed and re-analyzed and torn apart by different people. No one person could claim credit for having given this resolution to the Convention.

LIGHTFOOT told the Convention of the recommendation of the committee that JIM JACKSON be commended for his outstanding work and for his contributions to the thinking and efforts to bring this thing (resolution) to fruition.

LIGHTFOOT urged that the Convention recognize the depth of the political line of the document. He pointed out that in a sense the first theoretical aspect of the resolution was the decision to drop the slogan of the Right to Self-Determination. He pointed out, however, that the Negro question still remains the central question. One of the reasons that many of the comrades seem to cling doggedly to this slogan wasn't so much attributed to their belief to any degree that the Negro people represented a nation; they were afraid that to abandon this slogan would be to downgrade the question in the minds of the Negroes in the Party. He said that he wanted to make it clear that this in no way detracts from the importance or the centrality of the Negro question so far as the Party is concerned.

LIGHTFOOT continued saying that the defeat of the Dixiecrats - Northern Republican alliance, who are the main agents of monopoly capitalism, is pointed out in the resolution as a major goal. The main organizational task is:

1. First, to organize the unorganized in the South.
2. Secondly, to win the vote for the Negroes and the poor whites in the South.
3. The struggle for equality in housing, education, etc.

The problem that we face is the fact that labor still does not regard the solution of the Negro question as essential to the solution of its (labor's) problem. He noted that in spite of this, the Negro question in America is a principle question; it is not a tactical question. We must in a very complete manner break down and point out the economic basis of Jim Crowism and point out its stupendous cause.

In concluding, LIGHTFOOT noted the resolution's failure to mention the problem of Negro women, Youth, and the growth of Negro nationalism.

EARL DURHAM

DURHAM dwelt at length on the roll of white workers in white organizations.

BILL _____ from the South and JIM TORMEY spoke next on the Negro question.

CARL _____ from Washington State

He pointed out that the Party had to overcome many problems over the past several years. He noted that we are now in a position to make some of the greatest strides in all of our history. One of the greatest tasks which we will face is to find the ways to exercise "left initiative".

JOE _____ from North California spoke next but his comments were not noted.

GEORGE MEYERS from Maryland

MEYERS said the discussion seems to overlook the importance of the Negro peoples' struggle in relation to the liberation fights of the colonial people. There is a direct correlation between these two struggles since one complements and aids the other.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] made a very impassioned plea for maintenance of the slogan of the Right to Self-Determination. She pointed out that her adherence to this slogan was in no way an effort to be stubborn or factional. This just happens to be the way she felt and she did not see any basis of logic in changing this. She appealed for more theoretical discussion and more dealing with this question at greater depth to provide those comrades who were unable to see it with a sound basis for making up their minds.

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[REDACTED] spoke following [REDACTED]

PETTIS PERRY

PETTIS PERRY's line was essentially the same as that which he had brought up in the discussion of the Committee on Negro Work. He brought in the question, how do you provide political representation in an area where there is only one person to hold a position? For example, if there is only to be one sheriff or one other type political official elected, how do you have political representation for the other political grouping? How do you divide this one position?

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON

PATTERSON said that if the 16th Congress of the Party was known as the congress that saved the Party, then the 17th National Congress will be known as the congress that reorientated the Party on the question of Negro rights, and will go down in history as one of the greatest congresses. (It is to be noted that PATTERSON referred to the Convention as the Congress throughout his comments.)

PATTERSON was eloquent in his comments and pointed out the fact that the resolution had listed three main areas of struggle and said he wanted to add a fourth; --- and that was the cultural area. He said he wanted to add this because it was in this area that monopoly capitalism sold the concept of the inferiority of the Negro people. It was in the area of culture that the poison of white supremacy became imbedded and ingrained in the minds of the people from the time they are children. He added that every aspect of our literature and art work to perpetuate this illusion and mislead the people. He felt it was therefore necessary to attack the problem at this level, --- the area of culture.

The motion to adopt the resolution on the Negro question created a tremendous hassle in the Convention because a white woman comrade arose and said that her delegation had been instructed not to vote on the question of dropping the slogan of the Right to Self-Determination. The California delegation also got into the discussion at this point.

It was noted that MANNY BLUM had worked his way into an area where the majority of the argument was coming from at this time and he joined into it. BLUM arose to speak on this question and introduced a motion to separate the theoretical aspect from the programmatic. This proposal threw the Convention into a furor, with tempers rising and the parliamentarian having to be called. The hassle went back and forth over the motion to separate the theoretical aspect and the programmatic. An attempt was made to invoke the rule of having two people speak for and two people speak against the motion, but this did not get anywhere either because people kept interrupting and injecting their comments. Order was difficult at this time, --- the chair would rule on something and this ruling would be appealed, etc.

Mr. BLUM then made a request that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT poll the Committee on Negro Work to see if the committee would agree to support these two points. In that way the argument would become a parliamentary matter. LIGHTFOOT, who is usually a good tactician, surveyed the room and evidently felt he would win if the matter was put to a vote and therefore agreed to this request. A number of the members of the Committee on Negro Work indicated to LIGHTFOOT that they did not think this was a good idea, but LIGHTFOOT still agreed to putting the matter to a vote.

At this time LIGHTFOOT was heard to say privately he did not see any necessity in ramming this thing down anyone's throat when a vote could be taken on it which could satisfy them. He was still confident his idea would win out. You might as well go along with what they want when you can still beat them. [redacted] cautioned LIGHTFOOT that he thought he was making a mistake; that there was danger in this maneuver. Tempers are high at this time and this vote could upset the whole applecart.

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When the matter was put to a vote it was 82 against supporting the two points in the resolution and 26 for supporting the two points. This was a defeat of LIGHTFOOT's idea.

Next, a motion to adopt the resolution in toto was passed. The votes were not counted on this motion, only the opposition votes were checked. 5 were opposed and 12 abstained in the vote.

At this time the afternoon session was concluded and the delegates broke for supper.

The evening session began at approximately 7:15 p.m. with GEORGE MEYERS being proposed and elected as chairman.

The 1960 Elections,
Report by BEN DAVIS, JR.

DAVIS spoke at length on the election potential for 1960. In his comments he closely followed the outline as set forth in the resolution on the 1960 election although he amplified some of the points and appeared to be talking "off the cuff" at other times.

The resolution on the 1960 election contains essentially the salient points of DAVIS' report.

CARL WINTER, DAVE _____ from Virginia, HOMER CHASE from New England, and ARNOLD JOHNSON also spoke on the 1960 election at this time. A motion was made to adopt the resolution on the 1960 election and this was passed unanimously with no opposition and no abstentions.

Resolution on the Farm Question,
Report by _____

_____ was one of the few speakers at the Convention who read the resolution from his committee in its entirety. A motion was made to adopt the resolution on the farm question upon the completion of the reading by _____ and it was carried unanimously.

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Report on the Resolution Committee
by JACK KLING

KLING reported that the total attendance at the Convention was 187. He added that 41 should be added to this attendance which reflected the number of people who were in attendance on the second day of the Convention and had not been present for the first day's session. KLING gave the following breakdown for these attendance figures:

Of the original 187, 131 were delegates, 25 were alternates, 15 were fraternal delegates and 16 were visitors. Of the 41 additional, 2 were delegates, 2 were alternates, 5 were fraternal delegates, and 32 were visitors.

KLING reported that 16 states and the District of Columbia were represented in attendance at this National Convention. The states represented were the following:

New York
New Jersey
Pennsylvania
New England
Michigan
Maryland
Washington, D.C.
Ohio
Indiana
Illinois
Wisconsin
Missouri
Washington State
Oregon
California
Texas
Alabama
Minnesota

KLING added that 112 delegates were men and 39 were women. 33 of the delegates were Negroes.

KLING then gave the following breakdown with regard to age of the delegates:

Under 25 years	1
25 to 35 years	29
35 to 40 years	22
40 to 50 years	48
50 to 60 years	44
over 60 years	8

He reported that over two thirds of the delegates were over 40 years of age.

KLING next outlined the length of time in the Party for the Convention. This analysis was as follows:

Under 10 years	11
10 to 15 years	24
15 to 20 years	24
20 to 30 years	68
Over 30 years	12
Charter members	5

He also reported that by way of occupation, the following were represented:

Industrial workers	43
White-collar workers	40
Housewives	9
Professional	5
Self-employed	4
Farm workers	2
Students	3
Members of trade unions	49
Full time Party workers	28

The third day's session of the 17th CP, USA National Convention began at about 10:15 a.m. on Saturday, December 12, 1959. At the outset greetings to the Convention from the CP of China were read by JIM JACKSON. The Presiding Committee

recommended CLARENCE HATHAWAY as chairman of this session and he was elected.

Party Organization,
Report by PHIL BART

BART stated that the 17th National Convention will be known in the days to come as the Convention which led the basis for the rebuilding of our Party. He added that based on dues payments the membership at the present time is in the neighborhood of 10,000 members. He pointed out, however, that dues payments were never an accurate index of the membership because the actual dues payments, for example, even at the height of the Party's success never reflected more than 65 to 75 per cent of the membership. He said many people are always delinquent and some just do not pay dues but still regard themselves as members of the Party. He reiterated after that explanation, that based on dues payments the Party's present strength is about 10,000 members because there are 7,000 odd dues paying members.

BART recommended the commencement of a recruiting drive to begin immediately and continue to May 1, 1960. The goal of this recruiting drive should be an increase in Party membership by at least 10 per cent.

BURT NELSON was the first speaker following BART's report.

BETTY GANNETT

GANNETT spoke about the chaos through which the Party had come and pointed out the unity and strength with which it now emerges from that chaos.

 from Detroit

At the outset, indicated he had worked on a committee to help draft a resolution on Party organization.

He continued saying that in Michigan they have utilized a style of operation which he thought the Party might do well to adopt generally. He described this system as a

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council set up. In this council system they have councils dealing with the major areas of work and this, therefore, divides the responsibility of the leadership and the need of the leadership to follow through on programs. This council system involves most of the members in the district and therefore, does not create any problems which most of the Party leadership is faced with, --- the need for full time (paid) leaders.

MORT _____ from Buffalo

He pointed out that it is not sufficient to try to strive to increase the Party on a quantitative basis. It is also important to pay attention to the qualitative basis. He added the 17th National Convention should be known as the "build the Party Convention".

GERALDYNE LIGHTFOOT

LIGHTFOOT stressed the question of the new era of left initiative. She said that, as the wife of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, she had been able to enter CNDA clubs (Chicago Northern District Association of Colored Women) and had won the full respect from these people. They had accepted her for her willingness to work and it was therefore quite possible for a known Communist to work in organizations and advance and build respect for the Party. She added that being the wife of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, it is impossible for her to work in any organizations without being known as a Communist.

She pointed out that a lot of the comrades work in organizations but they are not known as Communists and therefore, if their work is good the Party does not get any credit because no one knows them as Communists. It is important to bring forth the faces of the Party.

She also spoke about the Afro-American Heritage Association in Chicago and the tremendous advance it is making in the Negro community in Chicago. She noted that they have held a number of big meetings citing a recent appearance of

W.E.B. DU BOIS. She also spoke about the arrangement the AAHA has for distributing literature through a book store and by having it sent to various small stores and shops.

A motion was made and was adopted unanimously to accept the resolution on Party Organization.

Committee on Women's Work-
Report by [redacted]

[redacted] introduced the resolution on women's work and in her comments dealt mainly with the resolution on that subject.

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[redacted] from New York spoke on the resolution on women's work following [redacted] report.

At this time a motion was made that the Convention adopt Section Six of the general resolution. (It is not known why this motion was introduced at this time nor is it known which resolution it was referring to; however, the motion was passed.)

[redacted] from New York

[redacted] introduced a motion to amend page two, paragraph five of another resolution to add the statement that the Party must re-examine its whole struggle for legality.

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An unidentified speaker reported that his area was going to begin a recruiting drive in order to double their membership. A challenge was issued to the Illinois District with regard to the recruiting drive. This challenge was accepted by the Illinois District and another challenge was made that the Harlem District would challenge the Illinois South Side Section in a recruiting drive. This challenge was also accepted by the Illinois District with the particular details of it to be worked out following the Convention.

A motion was introduced to use the Party resolution on organization as the basis for Party discussion and was passed.

Resolution on the Mexican-
Americans Report by SOL
from Los Angeles

SOL said that there are four million Mexican-Americans in the United States, and then spoke at great length about all phases of their life in the United States, including such topics as housing, jobs and women.

Upon the completion of his report SOL received a tremendous ovation. There was no discussion on this report, and it was adopted immediately thereafter.

KETTY _____ from California introduced two resolutions at this time, one urged rebuilding CP activity among Japanese-Americans, and the other resolution was on the problems of the American Indians.

Report on the Party Press

This report was given in three sections. GEORGE MEYERS, WILLIAM L. PATTERSON and JACK STACHEL reported on this.

GEORGE MEYERS

MEYERS indicated that the content of the paper was not their main concern. He said that organization of the paper is the outstanding problem.

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON

PATTERSON gave the main part of the report on the press and said that it is unfortunate that the work of this Convention enables it to give so little time to what is probably the most important item to come before the body. He spoke of the need for funds for "The Worker" and said that we did not attain our financial quota of \$75,000 to complete the work of "The Worker" for the current fiscal year, and we must meet that quota. He urged the incoming National Committee (NC) to fix the 1960 quota for "The Worker" in its very first session. It should be the first order of business for the new NC. The plight of "The Worker" is critical.

He also stated that JACK STACHEL had been invaluable in the life of the paper. He also stated that the current circulation of "The Worker" is about 13,000 to 14,000 and about 4,000 of these are being distributed outside the United States.

JACK STACHEL

STACHEL indicated that only once before in his life has he had the honor that was bestowed upon him now. The previous time was when he had the honor of passing the motion, back in the twenties, of changing the name of the Party to what it is today. He continued saying that today he has the honor of introducing the motion to reconstitute the "Daily Worker". (There was a tremendous ovation to this.)

STACHEL spoke at great length as to what is needed and added the aim is to get it initiated in the shortest possible time in 1960. He also spoke about the decision to institute a midwest

edition of "The Worker". The resolution on the press presented by the above three individuals was accepted unanimously by the Convention.

GUS HALL next read greetings to the National Convention from the CP of France.

HALL then took up the question of the proposals for nominations to the NC from the Convention. He said that the size of the new NC will be around 50 with 35 of the members of the NC being selected by the state and district organizations and 15 being elected at large. HALL then requested the various District delegations to meet in caucus as soon as possible in order to select their nominees for the NC in both the at-large and District categories. HALL recommended that the District in selecting nominees give thought to having a balanced NC with emphasis being given to Negroes, women and youth.

HALL then proceeded to read the following list of positions that each State would have for the NC:

New York	8	Southern California	3
Illinois	4	Northern California	3
Michigan	2	Ohio	2
New England	1	Eastern Pennsylvania	1
New Jersey	1	Maryland	2
Wisconsin	1	Indiana	1
Minnesota	1	The South	2
Oregon	1	Washington	1
Kansas-Missouri	1		

He also proposed that the NC would meet every six months and that the National Executive Committee (NEC) would meet every six weeks. He also proposed that there be a secretariat of about five people.

Someone from California tried to amend this proposal by saying that Maryland be reduced to one, Illinois be reduced to three, Oregon be eliminated, New York be reduced to seven and Northern California be reduced to two. The motion was defeated.

Resolution of the Committee on Youth-
Report by BILL ALBERTSON

ALBERTSON dealt with the problems of youth, especially with regard to the right to an education. A motion to adopt the resolution of the Committee on Youth Work was taken up; however, the report was not voted on at this time.

DANNY from Eastern Pennsylvania

He spoke on the question of building a democratic youth movement around the special needs of youth.

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[redacted] urged the Convention to welcome the emergence of a Marxist youth organization. She said that this would be a healthy thing.

AL from Southern California and [redacted] also spoke at this time. It was noted that [redacted] appeared nervous and no one seemed to be able to understand what she was talking about.

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LIBBY from The Bronx

She welcomed the delegates to New York and hoped that as a result of the deliberations of this Convention that the 18th National Convention of the CP would be held in another location. (This was not an indication that New York was unhappy to have the Convention, of course.)

[redacted] from Illinois also spoke at this time.

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The discussion on the resolution of the Youth Committee was closed but [redacted] of Detroit rose to ask for a special privilege and said that they had brought a youth with them who they knew would make an outstanding contribution to this Convention. He urged that this youth be given time to speak. The request was put in a form of a motion and passed.

This youth spoke and it was felt that he is a terrific speaker. This youth gave a very educational and logical report. It would appear from his report that he is going places in the CP. There was a feeling among many of those present that he could have been elected to the NC on everybody's slate without any trouble after making his report. (It was learned in later discussion that this youth had been offered a position on the NC, by his District's delegation, but he had asked that he not be elected to the NC.)

Report of the Constitution
Committee by [redacted]

[redacted] introduced several recommendations for changes and amendments in the CP-USA Constitution. These were as follows:

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ARTICLE II.

Purposes

Section 1. Add to line 5 after "political activity"

(a) to attain a peaceful world so that the American people and all mankind may work out their destiny freed from the shadow of nuclear war; (b) to attain full equality for the Negro people by banishing jim crow and realizing the fraternal unity of Negro and white;

ARTICLE III.

Membership

Section 4. Line 8, delete ("if feasible")

Line 9, after "good standing" add:

They may, however, apply for readmission within six months, and upon approval of the club, be permitted to pay all back dues and maintain their former standing.

ARTICLE IV.

Structure

Section 2. Page 9, line 7, after by-laws, add the word or.

line 8, delete (or state committee), retain "may determin". Delete all that follows up to end of line 23.

Retain balance of page.

Page 10, line 2, delete (at large)

line 6, delete all material starting with (a vacancy among members) and ending with (vacancy occurred) on line 12.

ARTICLE V.

National Organization

Section 1, Page 12, line 8, delete (within the first six months of the year).

Section 4. Page 13, line 12, delete (at least 90 days). Add four months, to read:

Prior to regular National Conventions, four months shall be provided for discussions, etc.

Section 5, in the present Constitution has been deleted by referendum.

New Section 5 to read:

Section 5. That each National Convention determine the number of members of the National Committee and that election be by secret ballot.

ARTICLE V

National Organization

New Section 6 to read:

Section 6. The National Committee shall be elected at the National Convention in the followingmanner: That State Conventions shall make nominations to the National Committee of any member of the Party eligible in their own or any other State. Such nominations together with any other nominations made directly at the Convention shall appear on the election ballot at the National Convention unless a nominee has in the meantime declined.

That in the election of the National Committee all areas of the country be included with due regard to the size of the membership and the character of the state organization.

Present Section 6 then becomes Section 7.

Section 7 will then read:

Section 7. Vacancies shall be filled by the majority vote of the National Committee. Members may be recalled for cause by the affirmative vote of two-thirds of the members of the National Committee.

Present Section 7 becomes Section 8.

Present Section 8 becomes Section 9.

Present Section 9 becomes Section 10.

Page 15, line 6 from the bottom,
Change to read: In fulfilment of its duties instead
of (In connection with its duties)

Present Section 10 becomes Section 11.

Page 16, last line, change to read: at least twice
a instead of: (at least four
times a)

ARTICLE VI

Rights and Duties of Members

Section 1. page 18, line 14 delete (They also have
the right in accordance with Section 2
of this Article, to dissent from
decisions which have been made.)

line 18, change to read:

Members should be active in carrying
out the program of the Party, to read
and circulate its press and literature,
to increase their knowledge of scien-
tific socialism and to attend club
meetings regularly.

Section 12, page 21, line 10, delete (without
prejudice)

ARTICLE VII

Disciplinary Procedure and Appeals.

Section 3. Page 22, line 8, add after "any member"
or party committee

line 13, add after "in that club"
Clubs or individual members may request
the help of the next higher committee
on such charges.

line 16, after "trial committee" add,
of the club or appropriate higher
Party body.

Section 6. Page 23, line 1. After "Any Member"
add or committee.

All of the above proposed amendments and changes
were adopted unanimously.

Also the report of the Constitution Committee was
accepted unanimously.

An additional motion was introduced by an unknown
individual and there was a great deal of discussion around it.
This recommendation was that the Convention go on record to instruct
the NC to make the necessary changes within the spirit of
democratic centralism. This amendment was to be injected into
page 18 of the CP-USA Constitution.

At this point the greetings from the CP of Germany were
read to the Convention. This was followed by adjournment of the
afternoon session of the Convention. Prior to the adjournment
it had been suggested that the various state delegations immediately
go into caucus to select their nominees for the NC.

The fourth day's session of the 17th National Convention of the CP-USA began at approximately 10:30 AM on December 13, 1959. ARCHER BROWN was proposed and elected chairman of this session.

The first item taken up in this session was the introduction of a comrade from Puerto Rico named JUAN RIVERA who had been injured in an automobile accident en route to the National Convention. His arrival was very dramatic with the National Convention arising to give him a thunderous ovation. He had to be wheeled up to the platform and lifted onto the stage.

Committee on Jewish Resolution-
Report by JACK KLING

KLING stated that the work of the Committee on Jewish Work was not completed, and a motion was introduced and adopted by the Convention that the resolution would be completed by February 15, 1960, and submitted to the Party for approval.

That resolution was followed by the introduction of a resolution on Cuba which was adopted.

Report of the Appeals and Auditing
Committee by MORRIS CHILDS

CHILDS reported that the Appeals Committee had dealt with many things. He reported on four appeals cases in particular.

One was a case from Northern California involving V.B. and M.G. He reported the appeal in this case was rejected and the Convention voted to sustain this decision. In explaining this case CHILDS said that it was the opinion of the committee that the individuals involved had violated the most elementary rules of Party organization.

In the case of HARRY HAYWOOD for re-instatement into the Party, CHILDS reported that it was the committee's finding that HAYWOOD had been given every chance to remain in the Party and the actual facts were that HAYWOOD had taken himself out of the Party. The Appeals Committee had no objection to HAYWOOD's re-applying for membership in the Party, but as far as being in the Party now, his request was rejected.

This report caused a tremendous discussion with some people saying that you could not treat a person with HAYWOOD's intelligence in that manner. Others in opposition to this said it was precisely because of his intelligence that the action

was taken against him. Because of his great intelligence, he should have known better^{than} to do what he did. This point was argued back and forth at length and finally a motion to sustain the findings of the Appeals Committee was made. This motion was passed with several abstentions. Most of those who had supported HAYWOOD's position in the argument on this point, of course, abstained in the voting.

Next there was a question on CHARLES LOHMAN, but it was reported the Committee took no action on that.

CHILDS said the Appeals Committee was referring that case back to the New York state organization. The Committee took the position that his case was not a Convention appeal problem but was something that should still be handled on the state level. The wording on this was similar to a Supreme Court decision when it states an appellant has not exhausted all avenues for a case prior to having it presented to the Supreme Court.

CHILDS next reported on the work of the Auditing Committee. At the outset he said this could not be qualified as an audit because it had not been prepared by a certified public accountant. He noted it was done by well-meaning comrades, but it would not stand up and recommended that the Convention accept it as information. He said that in 1957 the Party had a total income of \$196,079.78 and that at the end of 1957 it had a deficit of \$1,844.99. He said that in 1958 the Party had a total income of \$133,832.73 and total expenses of \$131,361.41 which left it with a surplus of \$2,471.32.

He added that so far as 1959 goes, the figures reflect only the first nine months. During this period the income was \$92,812.55. The Party has a surplus net worth of \$2,489.14 and total liabilities of \$11,018.96.

CHILDS pointed out that income from dues has fallen considerably. The motion to adopt the report of the Auditing Committee was unanimous.

WILLIAM WEINSTONE next brought in an appeals matter concerning MAX BEDACHT's case. WEINSTONE spoke of this case with great fervor, saying that BEDACHT had been treated in an undemocratic, unfair and unjust manner and outlined the whole history of the case. He asked the Convention to right a long standing wrong that had been done to this comrade in the period that is a black mark in our Party's history.

CHILDS pointed out the Convention did not need to take any action on the BEDACHT case because there was no case against him. His appeal had been granted by a previous Appeals Committee decision. (Evidently this information had not been communicated to BEDACHT.)

Remarks of BEN DAVIS, JR.,
Regarding JUAN RIVERA

DAVIS rose at this time to speak in glowing terms about the courage and perseverance of comrade JUAN SANTOS RIVERA, President of the CP of Puerto Rico.

RIVERA brought greetings to the Convention from the CP of Puerto Rico. His greetings were in Spanish and were translated by JESUS COLON.

PAT TOOHEY responded to these greetings for the Convention and said the Convention welcomed comrade RIVERA and had great respect for his courage and fortitude in struggling for the rights of the Puerto Rican people, etc.

In his comments in addition to the greetings from the Puerto Rican CP, RIVERA reported on how he had been injured in an automobile accident enroute to the Convention from the airport. He added he suspected that his being struck by an automobile was not a complete accident but had been caused by the American capitalists who were trying to prevent him from attending the Convention.

At this point the morning session of the Convention was adjourned.

Report on the Latin American
Affairs Committee by PAT TOOHEY

TOOHEY gave the report of the Latin American Affairs Committee and at the end of this report introduced a motion that the NC be directed to create a Latin American Commission as one of its first orders of business. He also introduced a motion that the Party arrange a conference in the southwest to deal with Latin American affairs. He also submitted a motion that the Party appeal to the conscience of the American people for solidarity and consideration of the problems of the Latin American people.

[redacted] spoke and reported on the Cuban situation in glowing terms with regard to the resolution in Cuba. He reported on the attempts of monopoly capital to destroy the Cuban revolution.

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[] reported that the monopoly capitalists are arming BATISTA while at the same time banning the sales of arms to FIDEL CASTRO. The capitalists are also boycotting and blockading other countries from supplying arms to CASTRO. This in effect is putting an economic squeeze play on CASTRO's government in an attempt to reverse the land reform.

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[] continued speaking about the land reform and the way that the country has been zoned off and listed other advanced that were being made in land reform, collectivization of the farms and the dealing on the agrarian question. He pointed out that while BATISTA had been under the influence of American capitalists the Cuban people were not permitted to grow crops that would benefit them. They could only grow the money crop--sugar. The profits from this went into the pockets of the monopoly capitalists and BATISTA. Some many thousands of acres of land lay dormant, but now because of the land reform the Cubans are using them for growing their own crops. The amount of sugar that is grown has been cut considerably and crops are being produced for the benefit of the Cubans themselves.

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Prior to the adoption of the resolution on the Latin Americansituation, an amendment was added that an appeal be made for amnesty for the Puerto Rican nationalists who are now in jail. This amendment was added to the original motion to adopt the resolution, and a vote was taken which accepted them unanimously.

Report on Nominations
for the NC

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN spoke at this time and entered a motion to elect WILLIAM Z. FOSTER as chairman emeritus of the CP. This motion was seconded by ELMER [] from Washington who had recently returned to the United States from a World Federation of Trade Unionists. In his seconding speech, he spoke of the tremendous popularity of FOSTER in Europe and added that everywhere he went people asked if the Party in the United States was following FOSTER.

This motion was passed with one abstention. It appeared that everyone was looking to see who the person was who abstained, but it was not made known.

FLYNN then reported the names for preferred nominations on the list of at-large nominees for the NC. It was noted at this time that the number of at-large members had been increased to 25 from the original 15 which had been announced by GUS HALL previously.

At some time during the Convention apparently this figure had been increased. The basis for doing this was that it would permit a greater emphasis on industrial, youth and the Negro Question. This motion to increase had been passed. This preferred list was as follows:

GENE DENNIS
JIM JACKSON
BEN DAVIS, JR.
JACK STACHEL
PHIL BART
HERB APTHEKER
JESUS COLON
HELEN ALLISON WINTER
ARNOLD JOHNSON
[REDACTED]
WILLIAM WEINSTONE
WILLIAM L. PATTERSON
SI GERSON
(The latter two were tied)

GUS HALL
HY LUMER
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN
IRVING POTASH
CLARENCE HATHAWAY
JIM ALLEN
AL RICHMOND
PETTIS PERRY
GERALDYNE LIGHTFOOT
DANNY [REDACTED] from Philadelphia
ERIC BURT
GEORGE MEYERS
DELL from Northern California
(DELL solved the problem by declining immediately)

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The above nominations were reported as the nominations that had come out of the Presiding and Nominations Committee. It is to be noted that the leadership at this Convention took no chances because apparently the same people served on both the Presiding Committee and Nominations Committee.

FLYNN then read a second list of nominees for the at-large positions on the NC which was as follows:

[REDACTED] BILL from the South
MOLLIE WEST [REDACTED]
GEORGE MORRIS MILFORD S. from Washington
NATE SHARPE from Chicago [REDACTED] BENNETT

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MOLLIE WEST immediately declined.

Next the state nominees were read to the Convention.

New York: PAUL R. NAT
LOUIS WEINSTOCK MORT from Buffalo
MIKE, a Latin American [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] BILL ALBERTSON

At this time an argument ensued on the floor because some people objected to the reading of the at-large delegates in two sections. The request was that the chair make the Presiding Committee report all of the at-large delegates in one group. The feeling of those who objected to the way it was carried out was that it was an indication that the people on the preferred list had already been pre-chosen by the Nominations Committee. In the way it was done the Presiding Committee was adding its recommendations to the nominations of the various states. The chair ruled that this could not be done, however.

The remaining nominees were as follows:

Southern California:

[REDACTED]
DOROTHY HEALEY
BEN DOBBS

Northern California:

MICKEY LIMA
ROSCOE _____
JUANITA _____

Illinois:

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
[REDACTED]
FLO HALL
SAM KUSHNER

Michigan:

CARL WINTER
[REDACTED]

Ohio:

ANTON KRCHMAREK
ED _____

New England:

HOMER CHASE

New Jersey:

PAT TOOHEY
[REDACTED]

Indiana:

MANNY BLUM

Missouri:

C. MARTIN

Wisconsin:

FRED BLAIR

Minnesota:

[REDACTED]

Eastern Pennsylvania:

TOM NABRIED

Washington State:

BURT NELSON

Oregon:

[REDACTED]

The South

T. ROBINSON
S. FRAZIER
[REDACTED]

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After the reading of these nominees the Presiding Committee announced that a ballot in order to be valid had to have at least 45 and no more than 60 names.

At this time a list of additional nominees was read to the Convention. These included:

New York: BETTY GANNAT
ARTIE (who declined)
[redacted] (who declined)
JIM TORMEY

Southern California:
BILL TAYLOR
ANITA _____

Northern California:
JOE F. (who declined)
LEE (who declined)

Michigan: [redacted]

Indiana: _____ BENNETT (who declined)

A Tellers Committee was announced consisting of RALPH _____, HERB from New York, MOLLIE from Chicago and [redacted] from Michigan.

After the above announcements were made, ARNOLD JOHNSON introduced a resolution on extension of the treaty with Japan.

Summary Remarks
by GUS HALL

HALL in his closing remarks stated that the Convention has fulfilled most of its responsibilities. The Convention was a big step in building a Marxist-Leninist Party in our country. Nobody could be said to have had their way at this Convention. The Convention voted up and down on all questions. He thought that we had attempted too much in the Convention, however, and that there would be many minor problems to be raised. He concluded by saying that one thing is certain, we have emerged from this Convention with one Party, one policy, one line and one direction. He again said the Convention did not have enough time for discussion in order to enable it to get the benefit of the experiences of our comrades in the various issues and added that there are still some elements of factionalism within the Party, and we must at all costs find ways to weed it out and stamp it out.

If this Convention gives any mandate, it gives the leadership a mandate to completely destroy any vicissitudes of factionalism.

The next point taken up was the establishment of the voting delegates by District. This was as follows:

New York	36
New Jersey	4
Eastern Pennsylvania	7
New England	4
Maryland	1
Ohio	7
Michigan	6
Illinois	18
Indiana	2
Wisconsin	2
Minnesota	6
Oregon	1
Washington	6
Southern California	19
Northern California	13
Missouri	1
The South	5

The actual voting at the Convention did not take place until approximately 5:00 PM. The rest of the time from then until the end of the Convention was spent in counting the ballots, etc.

The following is the result of the balloting for the NC:

1. GUS HALL	131
2. DANNY from Eastern Pennsylvania	126
3. JESUS COLON	122.1
4. JIM JACKSON	121
5. ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN	120
6. GEORGE MEYERS	118.4
7. HERB APTHEKER	117.8
8. WILLIAM PATTERSON	116.7
9. CLARENCE HATHAWAY	111.4
10. 	110.7
11. IRVING POTASH	109.8
12. HY LUMER	109
13. PETTIS PERRY	107.7
14. BEN DAVIS	107.4

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15.	ARNOLD JOHNSON	106.4
16.	GENE DENNIS	104.7
17.	GERALDYNE LIGHTFOOT	103.
18.	JAMES ALLEN	98.1
19.	ERIC BURT	93.7
20.	HELEN ALLISON	91.7
21.	AL RICHMOND	87.
22.	JACK STACHEL	84.5
23.	PHIL BART	94.4
24.	SI GERSON	77.
25.	[REDACTED]	63.9

The below listed were not elected to at-large positions on the NC:

WILLIAM WEINSTONE	58.9
[REDACTED]	58.
[REDACTED]	49.9
[REDACTED]	46.9
[REDACTED]	38.9
[REDACTED]	37.3
[REDACTED]	35.6
[REDACTED]	30.7

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The following people were elected to the positions allotted to the District on the NC:

1.	ROBINSON from the South	127
2.	FRAZIER from the South	127
3.	[REDACTED] from the South	125
4.	KRCHMAREK	125
5.	JAKE from Maryland	124.7
6.	NABRIED from Eastern Pennsylvania	124
7.	[REDACTED] from Minnesota	123
8.	BLAIR from Wisconsin	123
9.	C. MARTIN	122
10.	CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT from Chicago	119
11.	JUANITA, Northern California	117
12.	DENNIS, Michigan	116.4
13.	CARL WINTER	114.7
14.	M. LIMA, Northern California	114
15.	ROSCOE, Northern California	114
16.	PAT TOOHEY, New Jersey	118.3
17.	ED from Ohio	111
18.	F. HALL from Chicago	111
19.	MITCHELL, Southern California	109.1

20.	WEINSTOCK from New Yrk	106.3
21.	ALBERTSON from New York	105.1
22.	PAUL from New York	105.1
23.	NELSON from Washington	101.3
24.	HAALAND	101.3
25.	MIKE from New York	101.3
26.	WEST from Illinois	102.7
27.	KUSHNER from Illinois	100.
28.	DELL from Southern California	99.7
29.	NAT from New York	92.5
30.	BLUM from Indiana	94.3
31.	CHASE from New England	90.2
32.	GANNET from New York	82.4
33.	HEALEY from Southern California	81.5
34.	TORMEY from New York	79.1
35.	FRIEDLANDER from New York	60.4

The below listed persons were not elected to the NC from their respective Districts:

WEINMAN from New York	56.3
TAYLOR from Southern California	53.6
MORT from Southern California	53.3
ROSEN	51.3
ALLISON from Michigan	41.9
ANITA from Southern California	37.2

The percentages indicated in the above were due to the fact that some Districts were able to vote in a unit as some of the delegates with voting rights had to leave the Convention prior to the casting of the ballots. For this reason the vote on the individuals had to be broken down on a percentage basis.

The 17th National Convention of the CP-USA concluded at about midnight on December 13, 1959.

12/31/59

AIRTEL

REGISTERED AIR MAIL

AIR
TEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)

FROM: SAC, SAN ANTONIO (100-242-Sub 1)

RE: CP - USA
MEMBERSHIP
IS - C

ReBulet to New York, 12/2/59.

On the best available information, there are an estimated seven CP members or sympathizers who are suspected of being CP members in the territory covered by the San Antonio Division. Of these seven, three of them can be positively identified as CP members and two of them tentatively identified as CP members; two are security informants.

The above individuals have all been positively and/or tentatively identified as such during the preceding twelve-month period.

The seven individuals tabulated by nationality, race, sex, employment, known veterans, and known union members are set forth below:

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>Race</u>	<u>Sex</u>
American.... 7	White..... 6	Male.... 7
	Negro..... <u>1</u>	
	Total 7	

J. J. Carson
 2 - New York (100- CP, Membership)
 1 - SA
 JJK/epk
 (6)

1 cc to 100-131666
 (CP Pub. So. Region)

100-80638-1677

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JAN 3 1960	
FBI - NEW YORK	

RM

RM
 1/1/60

SA 100-242-Sub 1

Veterans

Union Members

Employment

4

None known

Attorney..... 1
Bookkeeper..... 2
Department store
employee..... 1
Salesman..... 1
Unemployed..... 2

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On 11/16/59, [redacted] advised that at the State Convention of the CP of Texas held in Dallas on 11/15/59, JOHN STANFORD, in reporting for San Antonio, stated that San Antonio has six paid-up members plus one that will be completely paid up next week. STANFORD commented the only reason that man was not paid up to date was due to the fact of a discrepancy on his back dues and that matter will be resolved.

On 12/31/59, [redacted] orally advised that he has heard nothing further regarding the seventh CP member from San Antonio. He stated that the seventh member could be [redacted] since STANFORD had been discussing [redacted] potential CP membership with [redacted] previously. However, informant pointed out this was only a theory or estimate on his part and he could not furnish proof as to [redacted] CP membership.

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Informant also advised that JOHN STANFORD appears to continue as the main CP leader in San Antonio. He continues his efforts to reorganize the CP in this area and is one of the San Antonio representatives on the State Committee of the CP. He remains the Executive Secretary of the CP in Texas. STANFORD is also one of the Texas representatives on the Southern Regional Committee.

BLAYLOCK

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C39)

DATE: 1/5/60

FROM: SA [redacted]

SUBJECT: CP, USA RICHMOND COUNTY
IS - C

[redacted]

- 1-NY (100-84387)
- 1-NY (100-57378)
- 1-NY (100-79030)
- 1-NY (100-94650)
- 1-NY (100-104023)
- 1-NY (100-49636)
- 1-NY (100-54303)
- 1-NY (100-94555)
- 1-NY (100-69089)
- 1-NY (100-79441) (414)
- 1-NY (100-62630)
- 1-NY (100-119810)
- 1-NY (100-109320)
- 1-NY (100-26603-C42) (CP, USA NY COUNTY) (421)
- 1-NY (100-132461) (CP, USA PRINTING & LITHOGRAPHERS REGION) (422)
- 1-NY (100-7629) (COMINFIL, NAACP) (41)
- 1-NY (100-128817) (CP, USA MEMBERSHIP, NYD) (416)
- 1-NY (100-80638) (CP, USA MEMBERSHIP) (415)
- 1-NY (100-128314) (CP, USA FUNDS) (416)
- 1-NY (100-26603-C39) (414)

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VJS:ume
(21) *VJS*

100-80638-1678

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JAN 5 1960	
FBI - NEW YORK	

J. J. Stales
VJS

NY 100-26603-C39

Identity of Source	[redacted] who has furnished reliable info in past (conceal)
Description of Info	CP Meeting, Staten Island, NY, 12/6/59.
Date Received	12/8/59
Received By	SA [redacted] oral
Original Location	[redacted]

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Information furnished by informant, as reflected above, was reduced to typing by SA [redacted] on 12/9/59, and authenticated by informant on 12/16/59.

A copy of informant's oral report follows.

NY 100-26603-C39

12/8/59

On December 6, 1959, a Communist Party meeting was held at the home of [redacted] Drive, Staten Island. The meeting started at about 8:00 PM. The following members were present:

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[redacted]

[redacted] said that he had won a pool at his place of employment and used the money to bring his dues up to date, pay his assessment to support the Party National Convention, and donate some to the fund drive of "The Worker." He said that the money collected from the Staten Island group was turned over by him to [redacted] in New York City.

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[redacted] gave a short talk on the Taft-Hartley Law, but said that he did not want to get too much into it because he was saving it for the next meeting when some new people would be there. [redacted] said that the next meeting will be "open," and nothing but labor problems will be discussed. [redacted] said that he was bringing one or two people and [redacted] said that he would try to bring two guys he knows. [redacted] asked [redacted] to see if he could bring one along.

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[redacted] said that [redacted] was over to see him last week, and BOB said that [redacted] visited him to talk about joining the group. [redacted] said that [redacted] and [redacted] want to join the group. [redacted] said that [redacted] will never be admitted to the group. He called [redacted] the "organizer" and everyone laughed. [redacted] said that [redacted] is not much better than JACK. He said that [redacted] had recently been thrown out of the NAACP by [redacted] the head of the NAACP on Staten Island. [redacted] said that he has been a member of the NAACP on

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NY 100-26603-C39

Staten Island for 12 years, and that he never had any trouble. He said that this was a good indication of the kind of guy [] is. [] said that [] and [] are always talking and telling the workers what to do but never do anything themselves.

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[] wife, [] then interrupted, and said that she knew she shouldn't be saying anything, but the Party wants new members. She said that she had attended a pre-convention meeting in New York City, and it was agreed that the Party should have a membership drive, and that most groups need to be enlarged. She said that in the very near future, a new political party is going to be formed.

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[] said that [] wife, [], reported [] and three others to the NAACP as being communists. He said that [] said he felt like murdering her, but that nothing could be done to her since she is not a member of the Party. GIL did not say who the three besides [] were.

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[] said that Dr. [] had recently spoke_ at the Unitarian Church on the evolution of labor.

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[] and [] paid \$2.00 each toward their dues. [] said that he and [] were paid up in full.

[] said that the next meeting could not be held in two weeks because he and his wife were going away for the weekend. He said he would notify the members when and where the next meeting would be.

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[] and [] then started to have an argument about the Democratic and Republican parties. The meeting was over at 10:00 PM, but the two argued for 30 minutes. [] said that the Democratic Party is a "war Party" and if they take over the country will be in a war.

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[] passed out copies of the November 29, 1959 issue of "The Worker."

OFFICE MEMORANDUM • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, CHICAGO (100-125)

DATE: 1-6-60

FROM : SA [redacted]

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY OF ILLINOIS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

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On November 27, 1959, [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, personally provided SA [redacted] with oral information pertaining to the State Convention of the Communist Party (CP) of Illinois, which was held at Chicago, Illinois, on November 21 - 22, 1959.

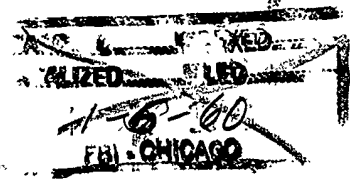
The above information was dictated on a memo belt on December 3, 1959, transcribed by Typist [redacted] on December 9, 1959, and authenticated by the informant on December 9, 1959.

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The original information is being maintained in Chicago file [redacted] and is as follows:

7 - New York (RM)

- 1 - 100- (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION)
- 1 - 100- (A. PHILIP RANDOLPH)
- 1 - 100- (CP, USA - YOUTH MATTERS)
- 1 - 100- (CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP)
- 1 - 100- (GIL GREEN)
- 1 - 100- (HENRY WINSTON)
- 1 - 100- (ROBERT THOMPSON)

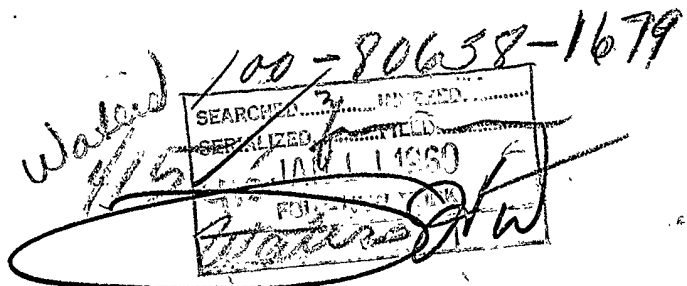


97- Chicago

- 1 - 100-18953 (CP OF ILLINOIS - ORGANIZATION)
 - 1 - 100-34438 (CP OF ILLINOIS - MASS ACTIVITIES)
 - 1 - 100-18952 (CP OF ILLINOIS - MEMBERSHIP)
 - 1 - 100-17769 (CP OF ILLINOIS - FUNDS)
- (COPIES CONTINUED ON PAGES i, ii, iii)

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WRC:saf
(104)



CG 100-125

1 - 100-36660 (CP OF ILLINOIS - FUNCTIONARIES)
1 - 100-18963 (CP OF ILLINOIS - FACTIONALISM)
1 - 100-18961 (CP OF ILLINOIS - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
1 - 100-18958 (CP OF ILLINOIS - COLONIAL MATTERS)
1 - 100-17977 (CP OF ILLINOIS - POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)
1 - 100-18954 (CP OF ILLINOIS - LEGISLATIVE MATTERS)
1 - 100-19491 (CP OF ILLINOIS - DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION)
1 - 100-19431 (CP OF ILLINOIS - STRATEGY-IN-INDUSTRY)
1 - 100-18956 (CP OF ILLINOIS - NEGRO QUESTION)
1 - 100-18957 (CP OF ILLINOIS - YOUTH MATTERS)
1 - 100-18959 (CP OF ILLINOIS - FARMERS MATTERS)
1 - 100-19490 (CP OF ILLINOIS - NATIONAL GROUPS)
1 - 100-18209 (CP OF ILLINOIS - LITERATURE)
1 - 100-18338 (CP OF ILLINOIS - EDUCATION)
1 - 100-17965 (CP OF ILLINOIS - BRIEF)
1 - 100-22015 (CP OF ILLINOIS - ALBANY PARK)
1 - 100-24815 (CP OF ILLINOIS - INDUSTRIAL)
1 - 100-22013 (CP OF ILLINOIS - JOHNSTONE)
1 - 100-31183 (CP OF ILLINOIS - DOLSEN)
1 - 100-22018 (CP OF ILLINOIS - SOUTHEAST)
1 - 100-29190 (CP OF ILLINOIS - DOUGLASS)
1 - 100-22011 (CP OF ILLINOIS - WAGENNECHT)
1 - 100-22008 (CP OF ILLINOIS - HAYMARKET)
1 - 100-22020 (CP OF ILLINOIS - SOUTHWEST)
1 - 100-17623 (CP OF ILLINOIS - HYDE PARK)
1 - 100-22016 (CP OF ILLINOIS - WEST SIDE)
1 - 100-22012 (CP OF ILLINOIS - LIEBER)
1 - 100-23270 (CP OF ILLINOIS - LOOP)
1 - 100-31398 (CP OF ILLINOIS - MISCELLANEOUS INDUSTRY)
1 - 100-22022 (CP OF ILLINOIS - 9TH CONGRESSIONAL)
1 - 100-22010 (CP OF ILLINOIS - PARSONS)
1 - 100-22007 (CP OF ILLINOIS - SOUTH SIDE)
1 - 100-22023 (CP OF ILLINOIS - 12TH CONGRESSIONAL)
1 - 100-20881 (CP OF ILLINOIS - LINE)
1 - 100-36238 (CP OF ILLINOIS - 13TH CONGRESSIONAL)
1 - 61-867 (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
1 - 100-12789 (GERALDYNE LIGHTFOOT)
1 - 100-30108

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1 - 100-4031 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-20384 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-33148 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-12459 (FLO HALL)
1 - 100-20289 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-12890 (EARL DURHAM)
1 - 100-2748 (SAM KUSHNER)
1 - 100-21073 (LESTER DAVIS)
1 - 100-21181 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-22078 (NATE SHARPE)
1 - 100-24020 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-13332 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-18080 (RICHARD CRILEY)
1 - 100-13263 (FRITZI ENGLESTEIN)
1 - 100-3301 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-18601 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-15565 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-25164 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-24800 (LOU DISKIN)
1 - 100-24010 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-33125 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-3720 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-25050 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-33937 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-22483 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-644 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-16815 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-18996 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-3470 (MORRIS CHILDS)
1 - 100-23392 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-3313 (JACK KLING)
1 - 100-13151 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-2749 (MOLLY WEST)
1 - 100-3338 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-18457 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-3949 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-14652 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-14644 ("THE WORKER")

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1 - 100-18962 (CP OF ILLINOIS - SECURITY MEASURES)
1 - 100-34013 (SANE)
1 - 100-30509 (AFSC)
1 - 100-19099 (COMINFIL DCREFW)
1 - 100-8261 (COMINFIL NAACP)
1 - 100-36719 (COMINFIL MCC)
1 - 100-26973 (ELFJWC)
1 - 100-5716 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-33741 (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION)
1 - 100-33740 (CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP)
1 - 100-33745 (CP, USA - YOUTH MATTERS)
1 - 100-33835 (Cominfil COPE)
1 - 100-35480 (Cominfil LLPE)
1 - 100-35291 (Cominfil DF1)
1 - 100-14937 (Cominfil PAC)

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November 27, 1959
Chicago, Illinois

On November 21, 1959 and November 22, 1959,
the Communist Party of Illinois held a State Convention
at Milda Hall, 31st and Halsted Streets, Chicago, Illinois.

At the November 21, 1959 session of the State
Convention, the following individuals were among those
present:

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
GERALDYNE LIGHTFOOT



FLO HALL



EARL DURHAM
SAM KUSHNER
LESTER DAVIS



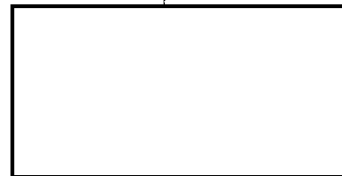
NATE SHARPE



DICK CRILEY
FRITZI ENGLESTEIN



LOU DISKIN



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[REDACTED]

MORRIS CHILDS

[REDACTED]

JACK KLING

[REDACTED]

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The above mentioned individuals were present at both sessions of the CP of Illinois State Convention on November 21 and 22, 1959. The below mentioned individuals were not present for both sessions of the State Convention, however, were observed at one session of the convention:

MOLLY WEST

[REDACTED]

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While the agenda was being read by SAM KUSHNER, a committee was selected by the convention to determine whether or not [REDACTED] from the Wagenknecht CP Section, should remain at the convention. [REDACTED] had not been elected by his Section to attend the State Convention, but had been appointed by another Section (the same Section to which [REDACTED] belongs) and, therefore, did not have the official status as a delegate.

[REDACTED] made a motion that [REDACTED] not be seated as a delegate since he was not elected as a delegate from his Section. [REDACTED] motion was voted on and carried in favor of not seating [REDACTED]. Following this, a motion was made that [REDACTED] be allowed to attend the convention as a guest since he is a long-time member of the Communist Party. This motion was also voted on in favor of not seating [REDACTED] thus [REDACTED] was forced to leave the convention.

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SAM KUSHNER read the following agenda:

Agenda for November 21, 1959: I.
Keynote report by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, Chairman,
CP OF Illinois. II. Resolution on Fight for
Peace. III. Resolution on Negro Question.

Agenda for November 22, 1959: IV.
Resolution on Trade Union Work. V. Report from
Constitution Committee. VI. Resolution on
"The Worker". VII. Report from Credentials
Committee. VIII. Report on the Youth Question.
IX. Report from the Resolutions Committee.
X. Report from the Nominating Committee.

[redacted] described as white, female, 35
years, 5'4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ", 115 pounds, brown hair, medium build,
medium complexion, was elected as the chairman of the
first session. [redacted] was elected as the parliamentarian.

The following individuals were elected to the

Nominating Committee:

SAM KUSHNER
LESTER DAVIS
NATE SHARPE
GERALDINE LIGHTFOOT
Four other unidentified individuals

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The following individuals were elected to the

Constitution and Bylaws Committee:

[redacted]
MOLLY WEST
RICHARD CRILEY

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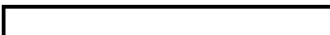
The following individuals were elected to the
Credentials Committee:



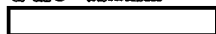
One other unidentified individual

The following individuals were elected to the
Resolutions Committee:

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EARL DUREAM
FLO HALL



LOU DISKIN

Three other unidentified individuals

 was elected as Sergeant at
Arms.

At this point it is noted that the main lines of all the resolutions were adopted by a majority of the votes, even though there was a continuous disruption from GERTRUDE MC BAIN's section throughout the period. Throughout the entire convention, there seemed to be a need for clarification on the different resolutions that were being discussed, as was often stated by delegates from the particular Sections. It is further noted the delegates were given the opportunity to speak on the various resolutions when they were presented.

Regarding point number 1 on the agenda, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, in his keynote speech, stated that the 1960 decade would be the most glorious for the Communist Party.

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and for the world in general. LIGHTFOOT said there should be an elimination of the Cold War and a foreign peace policy obtained, and the Communist Party, USA should strive for these goals. He said there has been a tremendous growth in the Soviet Union's economy and by 1970, the Soviet people will be enjoying the highest standard of living in the world, thus showing the superiority of pure socialism over that of the capitalistic society. LIGHTFOOT said that the capitalists are getting their main profits through the exploitation of the masses, and that these forces are also trying to stifle social progress in the United States. Further, there has been a broadening base of socialist thinking in the United States and in the world. A show of class struggle can be evidenced by the steel and railroad strikes in the recent past. Further, the treatment of Negroes in the United States will be reflected in any good will policy between the United States and Africa. LIGHTFOOT said that there will be a shift in the present status of the American Negro because the Negro Peoples Movement is increasing in militancy. LIGHTFOOT concluded that the Negro Question in the United States is the foremost domestic question and there must be an overall effort to unite all the forces on the various issues involved.

Regarding point number 2 on the agenda, a discussion of the peace resolution was held in relationship to the main resolution of the National CP Committee. It was stated that the foremost active committee in the fight for peace is the Chicago Committee For a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE). It was stated that the fight against fallout is the first step towards disarmament and SANE is gaining support from the labor movement and also has gained much more respect and following from the local communities. It was stated that the growth of the Friends Service Committee (Quakers)

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has produced a militant program for peace. There has been a change of relationship on a world wide scale between socialism and capitalism. Two activities have been proposed in the struggle for peace. One is a petition drive for 50 thousand signatures for peace to be given to President EISENHOWER to take to KHRUSCHEV on his next visit to the USSR, and public hearing planned for December 5, 1959 concerning the eminent threat of atomic warfare and atomic fallout. This December 5 meeting will be held at Chicago, Illinois, under the sponsorship of the Chicago Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy.

In regard to the above, MORRIS CHILDS stated the Communist Party must represent the national interests of the people and the national interest in this instance, is interest in peace.

An amendment to the peace resolution was read which stated that the National Convention and the incoming National Committee develop a detailed program for a peace time economy.

Regarding point number 3 on the agenda, it was stated that the Negro Question is the most difficult problem in the United States today. There has been a long delay in the Communist Party's taking action in this regard. It was stated that efforts must be made to fight discrimination in employment and housing. Further, the status of the Negro must be raised so that he is a full fledged citizen with equal rights.

Regarding point number 4 on the agenda, it was stated that the working class is seeking a new alliance. There are struggles in industry and open shops as illustrated in the auto industry against speedups and automation. Further, there is organized resistance from the AFL against the Democratic machine and labor leadership. The Democratic machine and labor leadership are the ones who are dictating "Jim Crowism" in the United States.

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The "JIM CROW" attitude should be and must be abolished in industries and in our society. Further, it was stated that A. PHILIP RANDOLPH is very militant in his fight for Negro rights in labor. There is a need for united labor movement among railroad workers. Further, communities should become more conscious of labor, trade unions and nationality organizations. There has been past attacks on Left Wingers associated with labor. These attacks must be negated. The Landrum-Griffin Bill was a direct attack against the labor movement. This bill must be criticized and ultimately defeated. The central theme is for the trade unions to serve as the key to a peace time economy.

Regarding point number 5 on the agenda, it was stated that bylaws to the Constitution were voted to be discussed at the second session of the State Convention, and that Article 5, Section 5 be deleted from the Communist Party, USA's Constitution. This article and section has been voted prior to the convention, that the majority of the National Committee be elected from the different regions, for instance, trade union, youth, etc. Further, it was also decided that all of the CP of Illinois' resolutions regarding the Constitution be submitted to the National Constitution Committee.

Regarding point number 6 on the agenda, [redacted] Chairman of the Press Committee for "The Worker", reported that "The Worker" served as a communication of the Communist Party to Communist Party members, and to the working classes. She said that there is a need for a renewal of subscriptions and an increase of readers. She also stated that some of the deficiencies in "The Worker" is the fact that its style and type needs to be varied to give its readers a variance of print and yet, still must have a quality of simplicity which will appeal to the working masses.

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Regarding point number 7 on the agenda, the following report was rendered by the Credentials Committee which served as a group whose duty was to check the delegates' registration cards.

On Saturday, November 21, 1959, the Credentials Committee report was as follows:

Total delegates present	46
Total alternates present	11
Of the above non Negro delegates	18
Non Negro alternates	1

Also regarding the November 21, 1959 session, the following number of delegates were between the following ages as grouped indicated below.

18 - 30 years	5
31 - 40 years	10
41 - 50 years	29
51 - 60 years	10
61 - 70 years	3

The average age was 47.

The number of years of Communist Party membership of the delegates are grouped together in their respective ages of membership within the Communist Party as follows: 2 to 5 years Party membership - 6, 6 to 10 years Party membership - 10, 11 to 15 years Party membership - 7, 16 to 20 years Party membership - 9, 21 to 25 years Party membership - 15, 26 to 30 years Party membership - 6, 31 to 35 years Party membership - 3. The average years in the Party is 18.

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It is noted that there was one charter member of the Communist Party present.

The following statistical breakdown of delegates per employment statuses is as follows:

Number of delegates employed	48
Number of delegates unemployed	3
Number of housewives	6
Number of delegates in unions	21
Number of delegates in mass organizations	49
Number of delegates in political action organizations	18

It is to be noted that the political action organizations are organizations such as follows: COPE, LLPE, DFI, and PAC.

It is further noted that the mass organizations indicated above are such mass organizations as follows: Midwest Community Council, National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples and the Emma Lazarus Federation of Jewish Womens Clubs and Chicago Council for A Sane Nuclear Policy.

It is further noted that on Sunday, there were 52 delegates present and 14 alternate delegates present. Of these delegates, 20 were of the Negro race and there were 2 charter members of the Party.

Regarding point number 8 on the agenda, [] gave a report on youth in which he expressed the needs and wants of the young adult and teenagers of our society. He stressed that their interest in peace and lack of interest in trade unionism is based on education and lack of education in that respect.

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[redacted] added to [redacted] report by stating that many youths and teenagers are tagged as being delinquents because of the pressure exerted on them from society and from the conditions under which they reside. [redacted] stated that there is a feeling of insecurity among the youth of the United States. This is brought about by the capitalistic society in general. Youths are given the responsibilities of adults but are not equal in status. In this regard, the youths cannot have the voting privilege, however, they are required to serve in the armed forces under the Conscription Act. [redacted] stated that there is the availability of youth under proper guidance to become a real integral part of the Marxist-Leninist Movement, but there must be a more dynamic attempt by Party members to reach the youth with the Marxist doctrine. Further, many Party members tend to treat the youth as a minor part of United Front Movement. [redacted] stated that there should be a youth director and a youth committee established in the Party to work towards the establishment of a national youth organization. Further, [redacted] said that the current situation regarding youth is a situation of chaos which is caused by propaganda from capitalistic machinery. She said that the youth can be militant and this is evidenced by the recent youth march on Washington in which 30 thousand youths participated. Further, [redacted] stated that the youths of this country are thoroughly interested in peace, and this is evidenced by their participation in the Chicago Committee for A Sane Nuclear Policy. Further, [redacted] reported that another evidence of the militant aspects of the youth of this country is their peace march that they made from San Jose to Los Angeles, California, earlier during the year.

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[redacted] continued by saying that the most important immediate goal for the Communist Party is the education of youth through mass organizations or otherwise, but the Party must continue to look forward to the ultimate establishment of

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a Marxist-Leninist youth organization which emanates directly from the Party and is controlled and directed by the Party. Further, [] reiterated that there is definitely an availability of youth to become a part of the Marxist movement, but that there should be a more dynamic attempt by Party people to reach these youths. She emphasized the necessity for younger people to be educated in the preparation for Party leadership because these people would be closer related chronologically and could better understand the needs of youth. [] also mentioned the high rate of unemployment among youth and the poor advances because of seniority among the youths, especially the Negro. She said that in regard to the Negro, he has two strikes against him, one is in being in the status of the youth and the other is suffering from severe discrimination. [] stated that a national youth conference had been held and it was voted that a youth director and a commission be elected at the National CP Convention which would work toward the establishment of a Nationalist Marxist youth organization, which the Party needs for future recruitment of members and leaders.

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Regarding point number 9 on the agenda, the Resolution Committee reported that the National Resolution was weak in the following areas and suggested that these amendments be made:

The Farm Question In this regard it was stated that the National Committee and the incoming committee should undertake the study of farms and farm problems and related areas for necessary action. The National Youth Groups In this regard, it was stated that the national youth groups should be given assistance and guidance to group work and have national and state committees place special attention on Spanish speaking people in Illinois. International Solidarity In regard to international solidarity, it was stated that the national convention should call in the final resolution, For a body working towards solidarity, peace, trade union unity, fraternalness

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with the land of socialism and abolishment of colonialism. Further, should emphasize solidarity with Cuba. National Leaders It was stated that National leaders elected to the National Committee should be affiliated directly with the trade union movements and mass activity so that they will have a better understanding of these areas of conflict. Further, the main line of the National Resolution was adopted but there were some polemics about the statement in the resolution which said that the main problem of the Party was the need to build a united front. The State Resolution said that Revisionism was the main danger of the Party today. It was voted to accept this position of the State Resolution rather than the National.

Regarding point number 10 on the agenda, After the proposed nominees to the National Convention had been read to the State Convention, [redacted] stood and profoundly stated that she would not be forced to vote for anyone that did not share her political viewpoints. [redacted] accused the convention of taking a social Democratic form. [redacted] was told that additional nominations could be made and she could vote for whomever she pleased. It was voted by a majority of the convention (Not by individual delegates from [redacted] Section) that there be a rejection of [redacted] statement.

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There were to be 11 delegates and 3 alternates chosen to go to the National CP Convention. Before the ballots were issued, it was mentioned that one could vote for not more than 14 nominees and not less than 11.

After the tally was taken, [redacted] announced the delegates who were to attend the National Convention. The lowest three being the alternates. They were as follows:

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<u>Delegates to the National CP Convention</u>	<u>Number of Votes Received</u>
GERALDINE LIGHTFOOT	44
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT	41
[REDACTED]	38
[REDACTED]	36
FLO HALL	35
EARL DURHAM	34
MOLLY WEST	34
SAM KUSHNER	34
NATE SHARPE	32
JACK KLING	31
[REDACTED]	30
<u>Alternates to the National CP Convention</u>	<u>Number of Votes Received</u>
[REDACTED]	30
[REDACTED]	29
LESTER DAVIS	27

b6
b7C

Other nominees were as follows with number of votes as indicated:

<u>Nominees</u>	<u>Number of Votes Received</u>
DICK CRILEY	19
[REDACTED]	22
FRITZI ENGLESTEIN	16
[REDACTED]	9
[REDACTED]	11
[REDACTED]	9
LOU DISKIN	26
[REDACTED]	14
[REDACTED]	24

b6
b7C

EUGENE DENNIS and MORRIS CHILDS were elected by acclamation to attend the National Convention as delegates.

CG 100-125

Following the election of delegates and alternates, SAM KUSHNER announced that guests (fraternal delegate without vote) were being invited to the National Convention and these guests are as follows:



One individual representing youth

In regard to the individual representing youth, [redacted] was selected to attend the convention as a guest.

b6
b7C

It is to be noted that [redacted] and FLO HALL were designated as chairman for the second session of the State Convention.

FRITZI ENGLESTEIN made the financial report which covered the period from January to October, 1959. She stated that the total receipts amount to \$24,440.00, which represents an increase of 14 per cent over the same period in 1958. Further, the following is a breakdown for the total receipts:

One drive and Org Fund	\$18,588.07
From mass meeting	4,700.19
Illinois share of dues collected	1,131.10

The following is a list of expenditures from the period of January to October, 1959:

Wages	\$6,160.00
Donations to "The Worker"	5,056.66
Good and welfare	1,822.00
Meetings and affairs	1,786.21
Taxes	1,485.00

CG 100-125

Office rent	\$1,040.00
Travel and organization	2,260.57
Printing	1,589.21
Telephone	550.24
Loans paid	616.00
Pamphlets	3,345.00
Legal fees and auditing expenses	315.00
Hall rental for meetings	115.50
Postage	215.90
Subscriptions to various publications	77.52
Expenses of volunteer workers in the office	53.40
Cleaning	197.80
Miscellaneous	158.60

The balance as of November 1, 1959, as stated by FRITZI ENGLESTEIN, was \$366.69, however, this balance has been dissipated as of the present time.

The convention also passed motion to send greetings to GIL GREEN, HENRY WINSTON and ROBERT THOMPSON and to continue the campaign for amnesty.

The closing remarks of the convention were made by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, Chairman, CP of Illinois, and it was stated that the Illinois District delegation to the National Convention is scheduled to be held on Monday, November 30, 1959 at the residence of [redacted] Chicago, Illinois.

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addendum: No dissemination is being made to the Los Angeles Division as LA is already in receipt of information contained herein pertaining to youth activity in that area.

AIR MAIL

1/8/60

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
 FROM: SAC, EL PASO (100-211)
 RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
 MEMBERSHIP
 IS-C

Re Bureau letter to New York dated 12/2/59,
 Bureau 01 form to El Paso dated 1/6/60.

By airtel dated 12/28/59, the El Paso Office,
 as a auxiliary office under the captioned Communist Party,
 USA, Rocky Mountain District, El Paso Division, IS-C,
 OO: Denver submitted Communist Party Membership, El Paso
 Branch data for the last quarter of 1959.

By airtel dated 1/5/60, the Denver Office forwarded
 to the Bureau a copy of the mentioned El Paso airtel to
 Denver dated 12/28/59 under the caption Communist Party,
 USA, West Texas, El Paso Division, IS-C.

The report of SA [redacted] submitted
 to the Bureau under date of 1/4/60 entitled Communist
 Party, USA, West Texas, El Paso Division, IS-C contains
 the data of the Communist Party, USA Membership, El Paso
 Branch for the fourth quarter of 1959.

b6
 b7c

CROSBY

- 3 - Bureau (REGISTERED AIRMAIL)
- ① - New York (AIRMAIL)
- 1 - Denver (AIRMAIL)
- 1 - El Paso

WDW:dja
 (6)

AIR MAIL

1-10-60
 RC

100-80638-168

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
JAN 10 1960	
FBI - DENVER	

J. Waters
 U.S.

best available image

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-99)
ATT: ASSISTANT DIRECTOR A. H. BELMONT

1/6/60

SAC, NEW YORK (100-9308)

CP, USA - TOPLEV
IS-C

[redacted] was
SM-C

ReNYlet 11/30/59.

On 12/29/59, [redacted] was interviewed by SAs

[redacted] stated that he is not very happy in his present position with an advertising agency, and is still seeking a job with better opportunities.

In connection with the recent National Convention of the CP USA held in NYC, [redacted] said that he had not had a chance to discuss the proceedings with any of his former associates, and his knowledge of what went on at the convention was limited to what he had read in the daily papers. [redacted] remarked that he did not place much faith in the membership figure for the CP which GUS HALL had quoted as an all time low of 10,000 members in 1959. He added that he believed that the membership figure was less than half of that which HALL had quoted.

With respect to HALL, [redacted] said that he believed from the standpoint of benefiting the Party HALL was an excellent choice and much to be preferred over DENNIS. He stated that HALL's background as an actual worker in the trade unions would add to his prestige as leader of the CP. [redacted] further said that he considered HALL as having a good deal of intelligence.

The information obtained from WHEREIN is being disseminated

3 - Bureau (100-3-99) (RM)
(1 - 100-14055)

- 1 - New York (100-80638) (CP USA - MEMBERSHIP) (415)
- 1 - New York (100-84994) (GUS HALL) (415)
- 1 - New York (100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (415)
- 1 - New York (100-9308) (41)

ABW:hr
(3)

100-80638-1181

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JAN 11 1960	
FBI - NEW YORK	

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b7D

NY 100-9308

to the appropriate case files in the NYO. This office will continue to maintain contact with [redacted] and the interviewing agents will exercise caution and discretion to avoid any possibility of embarrassment to the Bureau.

b6
b7C

Routing Slip
0-7 (Rev. 4-9-59)

Date 1-25-60

TO SAC:

- Albany
- Albuquerque
- Anchorage
- Atlanta
- Baltimore
- Birmingham
- Boston
- Buffalo
- Butte
- Charlotte
- Chicago
- Cincinnati
- Cleveland
- Dallas
- Denver
- Detroit
- El Paso

- Honolulu
- Houston
- Indianapolis
- Jacksonville
- Kansas City
- Knoxville
- Little Rock
- Los Angeles
- Louisville
- Memphis
- Miami
- Milwaukee
- Minneapolis
- Mobile
- Newark
- New Haven

- New Orleans
- New York City
- Norfolk
- Oklahoma City
- Omaha
- Philadelphia
- Phoenix
- Pittsburgh
- Portland
- Richmond
- St. Louis
- Salt Lake City
- San Antonio
- San Diego
- San Francisco
- San Juan

- Savannah
- Seattle
- Springfield
- Washington Field
- Quantico

TO LEGAT:

- Bonn
- Havana
- London
- Madrid
- Mexico D. F.
- Ottawa
- Paris
- Rome
- Rio de Janeiro
- Tokyo

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
MEMBERSHIP

- For information
- For appropriate action
- The enclosed is for your information. If used in a future report, conceal all sources, paraphrase contents.
- Enclosed are corrected pages from report of SA _____ dated _____.

REMARKS:

100-80638-1682

SEARCHED.....INDEXED.....

SERIALIZED.....FILED.....

JAN 26 1960

FBI NEW YORK

Waters *gh*

WATERS

Enclosure(s)

101

<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>ESTIMATED PERSONNEL</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>ESTIMATED PERSONNEL</u>
Connecticut District	21	Connecticut	24
Eastern Pennsylvania & Delaware District	111	Pennsylvania (eastern) Delaware	111
Illinois District	217	Illinois (excluding Cook Co. Auto area) Inns (Champaign & Joliet only)	217 0
Indiana District	23	Indiana	21
Maryland-D. C. District	21	Maryland District of Columbia	21 11
Michigan District	107	Michigan	107
Minnesota-Dakota District	210	Minnesota North Dakota South Dakota	168 21 21
Missouri District	21	Missouri Kansas (Kansas City only) Illinois (Cook Co. Auto only)	27 0 0
Montana District	20	Montana	20
New England District	210	Vermont Maine New Hampshire Rhode Island Massachusetts	20 1 1 21 2
New Jersey District	200	New Jersey	200
New York District	2,000	New York	2,000
Northern California District	200	California (north of Kern & Santa Barbara counties)	200
Northwest District	200	Washington Idaho Alaska	211 11 0
Ohio District	200	Ohio East Virginia (Richmond Section)	200 1

NUMBERS (continued)

Michigan-Irish 10
 District

Oregon District 00

Southern California District 700

Southern Legion 100

Western Pennsylvania District 07

Wisconsin District 100

UNITED STATES GRAND
OF COURTESY 70

UNITED STATES GRAND 11

Total 0,000

Arizona 10
 District

Oregon 00

California (exclusive of counties
 north of Santa Barbara & Kern
 counties) 700

Alabama 0

Arkansas 00

Georgia 10

Idaho 0

Illinois 0

North Carolina 1

South Carolina 0

Tennessee 0

Texas (exclusive of western
 counties) 00

Virginia 11

Washington (eastern) 07

Wisconsin 100

Arizona 10

Colorado 1

Illinois 0

Iowa 10

Kansas 0

Kentucky 0

Michigan 0

Minnesota 0

Missouri (17 western counties)

North Carolina (exclusive of
 the four Pamlico counties)

Ohio 0

Utah 17

Total 0,000

CONDUCTED BY POSTAL SERVICE BUREAU OF STATISTICS

	<u>1961-62</u>	<u>1962-63</u>	<u>1963-64</u>	<u>1964-65</u>
Albany	22	20	22	23
Albuquerque	0	0	0	0
Anchorage	0	0	0	0
Atlanta	0	0	0	0
Baltimore	21	23	21	22
Birmingham	0	1	0	2
Boston	122	122	120	118
Buffalo	21	21	20	21
Butte	25	22	20	21
Charlotte	12	0	0	0
Chicago	277	270	268	270
Cincinnati	22	22	22	22
Cleveland	122	122	122	122
Dallas	22	19	19	19
Denver	1	1	1	1
Detroit	222	222	222	222
El Paso	0	0	0	0
Honolulu	0	0	0	0
Houston	0	0	0	0
Indianapolis	22	22	22	22
Jacksonville	0	0	0	0
Kansas City	0	0	0	0
Knoxville	0	0	0	0
Little Rock	0	0	0	0
Los Angeles	272	272	272	272
Louisville	0	0	0	0
Memphis	0	0	0	0
Miami	21	21	21	21
Milwaukee	122	122	122	122
Minneapolis	21	22	21	22
Mobile	0	0	0	0
Monterey	222	222	222	222
New Haven	22	22	22	22
New Orleans	22	22	22	22
New York	1,022	1,122	1,072	1,022
Norfolk	0	0	0	0
Oklahoma City	22	22	22	22
Omaha	22	22	22	22
Philadelphia	222	222	222	222
Phoenix	22	22	22	22
Pittsburgh	21	20	20	20
Portland	21	21	22	22
Richmond	0	0	0	0
St. Louis	22	22	22	22
Salt Lake City	22	22	22	22
San Antonio	0	0	0	0

0 Indicates significant fluctuations in membership

COMPARISON OF THE DATA OBTAINED FROM THE ABOVE MENTIONED (continued)

	<u>7-7-53</u>	<u>7-15-53</u>	<u>7-22-53</u>	<u>7-29-53</u>
POP. 1950	47	55	60	63
POP. 1940	40	45	50	55
POP. 1930	35	40	45	50
POP. 1920	30	35	40	45
POP. 1910	25	30	35	40
POP. 1900	20	25	30	35
POP. 1890	15	20	25	30
POP. 1880	10	15	20	25
POP. 1870	5	10	15	20
POP. 1860	0	5	10	15
POP. 1850	0	0	0	0
POP. 1840	0	0	0	0
POP. 1830	0	0	0	0
POP. 1820	0	0	0	0
POP. 1810	0	0	0	0
POP. 1800	0	0	0	0
POP. 1790	0	0	0	0
POP. 1780	0	0	0	0
POP. 1770	0	0	0	0
POP. 1760	0	0	0	0
POP. 1750	0	0	0	0
POP. 1740	0	0	0	0
POP. 1730	0	0	0	0
POP. 1720	0	0	0	0
POP. 1710	0	0	0	0
POP. 1700	0	0	0	0
POP. 1690	0	0	0	0
POP. 1680	0	0	0	0
POP. 1670	0	0	0	0
POP. 1660	0	0	0	0
POP. 1650	0	0	0	0
POP. 1640	0	0	0	0
POP. 1630	0	0	0	0
POP. 1620	0	0	0	0
POP. 1610	0	0	0	0
POP. 1600	0	0	0	0
POP. 1590	0	0	0	0
POP. 1580	0	0	0	0
POP. 1570	0	0	0	0
POP. 1560	0	0	0	0
POP. 1550	0	0	0	0
POP. 1540	0	0	0	0
POP. 1530	0	0	0	0
POP. 1520	0	0	0	0
POP. 1510	0	0	0	0
POP. 1500	0	0	0	0
POP. 1490	0	0	0	0
POP. 1480	0	0	0	0
POP. 1470	0	0	0	0
POP. 1460	0	0	0	0
POP. 1450	0	0	0	0
POP. 1440	0	0	0	0
POP. 1430	0	0	0	0
POP. 1420	0	0	0	0
POP. 1410	0	0	0	0
POP. 1400	0	0	0	0
POP. 1390	0	0	0	0
POP. 1380	0	0	0	0
POP. 1370	0	0	0	0
POP. 1360	0	0	0	0
POP. 1350	0	0	0	0
POP. 1340	0	0	0	0
POP. 1330	0	0	0	0
POP. 1320	0	0	0	0
POP. 1310	0	0	0	0
POP. 1300	0	0	0	0
POP. 1290	0	0	0	0
POP. 1280	0	0	0	0
POP. 1270	0	0	0	0
POP. 1260	0	0	0	0
POP. 1250	0	0	0	0
POP. 1240	0	0	0	0
POP. 1230	0	0	0	0
POP. 1220	0	0	0	0
POP. 1210	0	0	0	0
POP. 1200	0	0	0	0
POP. 1190	0	0	0	0
POP. 1180	0	0	0	0
POP. 1170	0	0	0	0
POP. 1160	0	0	0	0
POP. 1150	0	0	0	0
POP. 1140	0	0	0	0
POP. 1130	0	0	0	0
POP. 1120	0	0	0	0
POP. 1110	0	0	0	0
POP. 1100	0	0	0	0
POP. 1090	0	0	0	0
POP. 1080	0	0	0	0
POP. 1070	0	0	0	0
POP. 1060	0	0	0	0
POP. 1050	0	0	0	0
POP. 1040	0	0	0	0
POP. 1030	0	0	0	0
POP. 1020	0	0	0	0
POP. 1010	0	0	0	0
POP. 1000	0	0	0	0
POP. 990	0	0	0	0
POP. 980	0	0	0	0
POP. 970	0	0	0	0
POP. 960	0	0	0	0
POP. 950	0	0	0	0
POP. 940	0	0	0	0
POP. 930	0	0	0	0
POP. 920	0	0	0	0
POP. 910	0	0	0	0
POP. 900	0	0	0	0
POP. 890	0	0	0	0
POP. 880	0	0	0	0
POP. 870	0	0	0	0
POP. 860	0	0	0	0
POP. 850	0	0	0	0
POP. 840	0	0	0	0
POP. 830	0	0	0	0
POP. 820	0	0	0	0
POP. 810	0	0	0	0
POP. 800	0	0	0	0
POP. 790	0	0	0	0
POP. 780	0	0	0	0
POP. 770	0	0	0	0
POP. 760	0	0	0	0
POP. 750	0	0	0	0
POP. 740	0	0	0	0
POP. 730	0	0	0	0
POP. 720	0	0	0	0
POP. 710	0	0	0	0
POP. 700	0	0	0	0
POP. 690	0	0	0	0
POP. 680	0	0	0	0
POP. 670	0	0	0	0
POP. 660	0	0	0	0
POP. 650	0	0	0	0
POP. 640	0	0	0	0
POP. 630	0	0	0	0
POP. 620	0	0	0	0
POP. 610	0	0	0	0
POP. 600	0	0	0	0
POP. 590	0	0	0	0
POP. 580	0	0	0	0
POP. 570	0	0	0	0
POP. 560	0	0	0	0
POP. 550	0	0	0	0
POP. 540	0	0	0	0
POP. 530	0	0	0	0
POP. 520	0	0	0	0
POP. 510	0	0	0	0
POP. 500	0	0	0	0
POP. 490	0	0	0	0
POP. 480	0	0	0	0
POP. 470	0	0	0	0
POP. 460	0	0	0	0
POP. 450	0	0	0	0
POP. 440	0	0	0	0
POP. 430	0	0	0	0
POP. 420	0	0	0	0
POP. 410	0	0	0	0
POP. 400	0	0	0	0
POP. 390	0	0	0	0
POP. 380	0	0	0	0
POP. 370	0	0	0	0
POP. 360	0	0	0	0
POP. 350	0	0	0	0
POP. 340	0	0	0	0
POP. 330	0	0	0	0
POP. 320	0	0	0	0
POP. 310	0	0	0	0
POP. 300	0	0	0	0
POP. 290	0	0	0	0
POP. 280	0	0	0	0
POP. 270	0	0	0	0
POP. 260	0	0	0	0
POP. 250	0	0	0	0
POP. 240	0	0	0	0
POP. 230	0	0	0	0
POP. 220	0	0	0	0
POP. 210	0	0	0	0
POP. 200	0	0	0	0
POP. 190	0	0	0	0
POP. 180	0	0	0	0
POP. 170	0	0	0	0
POP. 160	0	0	0	0
POP. 150	0	0	0	0
POP. 140	0	0	0	0
POP. 130	0	0	0	0
POP. 120	0	0	0	0
POP. 110	0	0	0	0
POP. 100	0	0	0	0
POP. 90	0	0	0	0
POP. 80	0	0	0	0
POP. 70	0	0	0	0
POP. 60	0	0	0	0
POP. 50	0	0	0	0
POP. 40	0	0	0	0
POP. 30	0	0	0	0
POP. 20	0	0	0	0
POP. 10	0	0	0	0
POP. 0	0	0	0	0

1/11/60

PLAIN TEXT

AIRTEL

REGISTERED MAIL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-63)
 FROM : SAC, PHILADELPHIA (100-32203)
 SUBJECT: CPUSA - MEMBERSHIP
 IS - C

C I N A L

On 1/7/60, [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, provided a written statement to SA [redacted] of a District Administrative Committee meeting, CPEPD, on 1/5/60 at 1345 West Susquehanna Avenue, Philadelphia.

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At this meeting THOMAS NABRIED, District Chairman, spoke on the problem of CP dues payments, alleging that dues payments had fallen off considerably since the Convention, especially during the Christmas holidays. He said that until the Convention 132 dues payments had been made, but if some December dues were not paid soon, this fine average would drop. He added that at the present time there were 135 dues-paying members who were current in this District, including the out-of-town CP areas. This was confirmed by [redacted] District Dues Secretary, CPEPD.

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It was decided that the DAC would recommend to the District Committee (DC) that registration for 1960 should begin immediately following the second half of the District Convention, 1/30,31/60, if the District Committee approved of it. Plans were made to prepare the printed material relative to registration for presentation to the DC at the DC meeting 1/25/60, so that following approval of the DC the material can be given out to those in attendance at the second half of the District Convention.

HENNRICH

100-80638-1652

- 3 - Bureau (100-3-68) (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-80638) (Info.) (RM)
- 4 - Philadelphia
 - 1 - 100-32208
 - 1 - 100-28841 [redacted]
 - 1 - 100-42205 sub A (CINAL, LIBRARY)

Waters
 1/11/60
 [Handwritten signatures and stamps]

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WEH:ARD
(8)

OFFICE MEMORANDUM * * UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
ORGANIZATION
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: 1/15/60

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF A HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT.

CG 5824-S*, on January 12, 1960, orally furnished to SA JOHN E. KEATING the information on the following pages. This oral information was reduced to writing on January 15, 1960.

- 2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
- 7 - New York (REGISTERED)
 - (1 - 100-80638) (CP-USA, Membership)
 - (1 - 100-80641) (CP-USA, Organization)
 - (1 - 100-128814) (CP-USA, New York District, Organization)
 - (1 - 100-56579) (PHIL BART)
 - (1 - 100-16021) (ARNOLD JOHNSON)
 - (1 - 100-47211) (STEVE NELSON)
 - (1 - 100-18065) (JACK STACHEL)
- 1 - San Francisco (65-1242) (MICKEY LIMA) (REGISTERED)
- 1 - Seattle (100-127) (BURT NELSON) (REGISTERED)
- 2 - Chicago
 - (1 - A/134-46)

JEK/kws
(13)

100-80638-1684

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JAN 18 1960	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Waters

January 12, 1960

PHIL BART, National Organization Secretary of the Communist Party - USA, made the following comments on January 11, 1960:

Communist Party - USA Membership

Despite announcements made at the 17th National Convention of the Communist Party - USA, the current membership of the Communist Party - USA, based on average dues payments, is approximately 6,000.

The New National Executive Committee of the Communist Party - USA

The new National Executive Committee of the Communist Party - USA will not be elected until the new National Committee meets in March, 1960. An effort may be made to eliminate BURT NELSON from the National Executive Committee and have only one person from the far West on the National Executive Committee. This one person may possibly be MICKEY LIMA.

JACK STACHEL

There will be a celebration for JACK STACHEL during February, 1960, on the occasion of his 60th birthday. Plans for this celebration will be initiated by STACHEL's club and Section in order to illustrate that a person doing national work for the Party can also participate in club level activities.

STEVE NELSON

STEVE NELSON asked to be assigned to a club and has been assigned to a printers club in the New York District of the Communist Party - USA.

ARNOLD JOHNSON

ARNOLD JOHNSON has a serious back ailment and was scheduled to enter the hospital during the week of January 10, 1960.

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C40)(#421)

DATE: 1/18/60

FROM : SA [redacted] (#421)

SUBJECT: BRONX COUNTY CP
IS - C

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b7D

- [redacted]
- 1 - New York (100-133481) [redacted]
- 1 - New York (100-93665) [redacted] 421)
- 1 - New York (100-55159) [redacted] 21)
- 1 - New York (100-69941) [redacted]
- 1 - New York (100-88609) [redacted]
- 1 - New York (100-135252) [redacted] 1)
- 1 - New York (100-62050) [redacted] #421)
- 1 - New York (100-35237) [redacted]
- 1 - New York (100-100308) [redacted] (#421)
- 1 - New York (100-128812) (CP, NYS - POLITICAL ACTIVITIES) (#416)
- 1 - New York (100-26603) (CP, NYS) (#416)
- 1 - New York (100-133594) (FSS) (#41)
- 1 - New York (100-102697) (COMINFIL - MASS ORGANIZATIONS) (#41)
- 1 - New York (100-120473) [redacted] (#421)
- 1 - New York (100-80638) (CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP) (#415)
- 1 - New York (100-269) (HENRY WINSTON) (#415)
- 1 - New York (100-60640) [redacted] (#426)
- 1 - New York (100-54965) [redacted] (#415)
- 1 - New York (100-80636) (CP, USA - LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES) (#415)
- 1 - New York (100-31019) (COMINFIL - LABOR) (#413)
- 1 - New York (100-133090) (NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR A SANE NUCLEAR POLICY (#414)
- 1 - New York (100-80640) (CP, USA - NEGRO QUESTION) (#415)
- 1 - New York (100-128314-C) (BRONX COUNTY CP - FUNDS) (#421)
- 1 - New York (97-169) (PUBLISHERS NEW PRESS) (#415)
- 1 - New York (100-26603-C1417) (SOUTHEAST SECTION, BRONX COUNTY CP) (421)
- 1 - New York (100-26603-C1954) (HUNGARIAN SECTION CP) (#421)
- 1 - New York (100-4931) (CP, USA) (#415)
- 1 - New York (100-26603-C1945) (NORTHEAST SECTION, BRONX COUNTY CP) (421)
- 1 - New York (100-26603-C320) (NORTHWEST SECTION, BRONX COUNTY CP) (421)
- 1 - New York (100-26603-C1931) (EAST BRONX SECTION, BRONX COUNTY CP) (421)
- 1 - New York (100-81338) (CP, USA - SECURITY MEASURES) (#415)
- 1 - New York (100-118525) (BCLC) (#41)
- 1 - New York (100-1696) (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN) (#415)
- 1 - New York (100-26603-C40) (#421)

RO: bhg
(35)

100-80638-1685

415

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SERIALIZED	FILED
JAN 18 1960	
FBI - NY	

[Handwritten signatures and initials over stamp]

NY 100-26603-C40

Identity of Source	[redacted] who has furnished reliable info in past (conceal)
Description of Info	Bronx County Committee meeting, 12/30/59
Date Received	1/4/60
Received By	SA [redacted] (written)
Original Located	[redacted]

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A copy of informant's report follows:

NY 100-26603-C40

Date of report Jan. 3, 1960.

The Bronx County Committee Communist Party held a regular meeting on Wednesday night Dec. 30 at [redacted] new house [redacted]

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Those attending this meeting were as follows, [redacted]

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[redacted] was chosen chairman of the meeting and the agenda as presented by [redacted] was, 1(a) a Political discussion around the coming 1960 Legislature opening, the ROCKEFELLER statement on his withdrawal from running for President, 2(a) possible subway strike. 3 - Funds, and 4, coming State Convention.

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In addition, an announcement on the opening session of the School of Social Science, and the rally at the Allerton Section for HENRY WINSTON.

[redacted] reported on the forthcoming 1960 Legislature and what we could do, not only independently but together with others in our neighborhood, organizations etc.

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The question of raising the minimum wage, which has the backing of all the N.Y. City officials. In this respect N.Y. does not have a minimum wage law similar to our National Pattern, so we can do much to see that this becomes a reality for 1960.

Another important issue is the Metcalf Baker bill around housing, the raising of rents, especially through the many false issues such as the sale and resale of houses between relatives etc, thus raising rents to an unbelievable high.

Also for the coming 1960 National & other elections, we should urge the passing of legislation to conduct registration and literacy test in Spanish in areas where Spanish speaking people reside thus allowing and facilitating the method of registering and voting.

NY 100-26603-C40

Another important reform is the changing of the Landon - Griffin bill which as of now is definitely anti Labor and is destined to hurt the worker rather than help him.

These are only a few of the cases which confront the people in this coming year of 1960 and we as individuals and as members of many organizations must rally and urge others to support a program which will change or add to the composition of the 1960 legislature.

In the National scene, the coming conference of the world leaders of the nations of the world must be watched very carefully to see who sets the policy whether it be the people or the leaders.

In connection with this major world conference, the Party, and we in the Bronx County Committee can do a great service by accepting the responsibility of distributing the KRUSCHEV pamphlet on disarmament. We can distribute them in the theme of a Peace Program for EISENHOWER for the Conference.

This can be done by all, and in various ways, again through friends, neighbors, organizations labor unions etc. The Party has thousands of these pamphlets left over and each Section should take a large quantity for mass distribution.

Also on the National scene we must campaign for a break by the Republican Dixicrates, around the Civil Rights issue, which can be a very dangerous issue for the 1960 National elections. Here in the Bronx it would be a good thing if the Jewish organizations in the various areas of the Bronx in the East, North West, North East and West would campaign against this issue it would be very successful and fruitful.

All of the above can be successful to the extent that the people send telegrams, post cards, write letters, send delegations to our local representatives in the Assembly, Senate and the Congress urging support of these and other issue which are so important to the people in general because it effects their cost of living, food and housing etc.

NY 100-26603-040

We must also support and watch closely the National C.I.O. legislative Conference in Washington in the near future, and urge for passade of rule 22.

In February we celebrate Negro History week and we must plan some activity around this issue, a large meeting, conferences in a church, a forum in a public library or any other activity by other organizations to honor this important event.

Sometime in May, Sane is anticipating holding a large meeting where all the Presidential candidates will be invited to voice their views, also, a rewriting of the Peace Petition and this to be followed by a mass distribution for signatures for the abolishing of the Nuclear weapons etc.

[] gave a fund drive report to date, as of tonight, since last fall we raised \$2,000, make a total fund drive to date of \$7,578.80 or 60% of our goal. The original goal of \$12,000 still stands and must be concluded soon before we have another drive upon us.

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The County has enough funds for one more weeks so if we in the County who pledged to raise money, including our own quota, can do so in the next week or two we should do so because we cannot operate without funds much longer. The State representatives are going without funds, the Worker is borrowing beyond its limit and this cannot continue much longer without leaving a mark on the Party.

In the past few weeks [] has spoken with the organizers of the various Section and is pleased to report that the attitude of those who were not wholeheartedly in favor of the fund drive, now are doing the best to fulfill their pledge. By Sections the totals turned in as of tonight are as follows - South East \$528.00, Hungarian \$641.00, West \$1,621, North East \$1,844, North West \$79.70, East Bronx \$30.60.

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This leaves a total of \$7,578 to raise to complete the drive.

There was general discussion on the fund drive and all agreed that it must be completed soon so as not to conflict with the new one starting in Feb.

NY 100-26603-C40

[] outlined the coming re-convening of the State Convention, which will be held on Friday night Jan 8, and all day Sat. Jan. 9 at the same place as the regular Convention (Academy of Music on E. 14 St.).

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At the Friday night session there will be a report on the National Convention and general discussion.

On Sat. there are a number of questions and resolutions that were not resolved at the last Convention, that have to be dealt with, also a plan of work for the coming year, many issues, on the legislative program for 1960, the 1960 elections, nominations of a State Committee and State officers, and finally a general discussion on the proposed membership from the Convention to the State Committee.

[] opened the floor for any other discussion on the coming State Convention and urged us to submit names of people whom we would delegate as members from this Bronx County Committee to the State Committee.

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The names of [] with a brief history of her activities in her Section and various organizations to which she belonged to etc. etc. by [] but she turned it down because she had so much to do in her Section, there being no other person active in her area.

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[] was nominated and accepted, [] who is a member of the National Committee was nominated and accepted only after no other person accepted, [] gratefully accepted deeming it an honor.

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[] reviewed the other members of the County Committee and in relation to [] said that he could not be accepted because of Security reasons.

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[] the young member of the County Committee cannot be accepted because he is not a member of the Party for two years.

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On the announcements, [] urged a large attendance at the meeting in the Allerton Section, for HENRY WINSTON, sponsored by the Bronx Civil Liberties Committee. The principal speakers were to be ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, JOHN ABT.

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NY 100-26603-C40

[] also urged a large registration for the new fall term of the School of Social Science, as per her talk with [] who could not be here.

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The new term would start on Jan 18, and we are urged to take it up with our Sections and if possible establish classes here in the Bronx where it can be easier for our older people to attend.

[] spoke on recruiting new and old people to our Party, and a resolution was passed at the National Convention that the Party double its membership by the next National Convention, and to achieve 10% by May 1, 1960.

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There will be an open meeting in the Puerto Rican community around this issue and the Party hopes to be very successful in this drive.

[] reported that she has been seeing and speaking to people, former Party people and others and has had favorable response to these talks. One person in particular who held a position on the Bronx County Committee, a member of a mass organization etc. dropped out during a period when many questions had to be answered, when much confusion reigned, has now taken on a new position and is seriously thinking of coming back into the Party, we here in the County Committee must register our approval or disapproval of accepting her back once more, and as far as she, [] is concerned she believes that she is sincere and is in a position to be taken back.

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A vote was taken and everyone but [] agreed to accept her back into the Party.

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This person is []

[] urged us to talk and contact other possible recruits, new and old to swell our ranks if we expect to build a mass Party of Socialism here in America,

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Before adjourning [] had tickets to the WINSTON affair and she also would take orders for the KRUSCHEV report on

NY 100-26603-c40

Disarmament for mass distribution among people in mass organization_ or in the Community.

The next meeting was set for two weeks Jan. 13, at [] house on [] Ave. Apt. D.

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Prior to the meeting, before [] came, [] suggested that we, the members of the County Committee, give [] a Christmas present, there was no time for a general discussion so hurriedly we agreed to donate whatever we could, 2 or 3 dollars and present her with a car coat or a gift certificate, whichever was more appropriate.

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Everyone agreed and those present donated \$3.00 each, and the other members of the County Committee not present would be contacted.

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641 Sub B)
FROM: SAC, NEWARK (100-4284E)
SUBJECT: CP, USA
ORGANIZATION
17TH NATIONAL CONVENTION
IS - C

DATE: 1/25/60

Date received 12/16/59	Received from (name or symbol number) [redacted] who has furnished reliable info in the past	Received by SA [redacted]
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Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)
 in person by telephone by mail orally recording device written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:
Date _____
Dictated _____ to _____
Transcribed _____
Authenticated by Informant _____

Date of Report
12/16/59
Date(s) of activity
12/10-13/59

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Brief description of activity or material
Proceedings at 17th National
Convention, CP, USA, New York City

File where original is located if not attached
[redacted]

Remarks:

- 61-New York (RM)
- (1-100-23825 BEN DAVIS, JR.)
 - (1-100-16021 ARNOLD JOHNSON)
 - (1-100- EUGENE DENNIS)
 - (1-100-84995 GUS HALL)
 - (1-100-16785 JAMES JACKSON)
 - (1-100-105078 HY LUMER)
 - (1-100-1696 ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN)
 - (1-100-18065 JACK STACHEL)
 - (1-100-48663 IRVING POTASH)
 - (1-100-56579 PHIL BART)
 - (1-100-9595 WILLIAM WEINSTONE)
 - (1-100-84275 WILLIAM L. PATTERSON)
 - (1-100-80532 HERB APTHEKER)
 - (1-100-32826 JIM ALLEN)
 - (1-100-13473 SI GERSON)
 - (1-100-559 JESUS COLON)
 - (1-100-95550 PAUL ROBESON, JR.)
 - (1-100-26018 LOUIS WEINSTOCK)
 - (1-100- [redacted])
- (1-100-54555 [redacted])
 - (1-100-118174 [redacted])
 - (1-100-129629 BILL ALBERTSON)
 - (1-100-64074 [redacted])
 - (1-100-13483 BETTY GANNETT)
 - (1-100- [redacted])
 - (1-100-93665 [redacted])
 - (1-100-9365 WILLIAM Z. FOSTER)
 - (1-100- ERWIN (LNU) (Credentials Committee))
 - (1-100- (FNU) JACKSON (Negro Committee))
 - (1-100-7658 LEM HARRIS)
 - (1-100-13444 [redacted])
 - (1-100- HARRY HEYWOOD)
 - (1-100-4931 CP, USA)
 - (1-100-74560 CP, USA, FUNDS)
 - (1-100- CP, USA, MEETING PLACES)

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100-80638-1686

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415 [signature]

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(1-100- CP, USA, CP PETITIONS)
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(1-100- CP, USA, ORGANIZATION)
(1-100-80636 CP, USA, LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITY)
(1-100-89691 CP, USA, DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATIVE ISSUES)
(1-100- CP, USA, EDUCATION)
(1-100-79717 CP, USA, POLITICAL ACTIVITY)
(1-100-81752 CP, USA, BRIEF)
(1-100-80640 CP, USA, NEGRO ACTIVITY)
(1-100-80644 CP, USA, YOUTH)
(1-100- CP, USA, COLONIAL MATTERS)
(1-100-80634 CP, USA, FARM MATTERS)
(1-100-86624 CP, USA, INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
(1-100-80864 CP, USA, RELIGION)
(1-100- CP, USA, SECURITY MEASURES)
(1-100-81675 CP, USA, PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATIONS)
(1-100-87211 CP, USA, FACTIONALISM)
(1-100-89590 CP, USA, STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)
(1-100-54651 CP, USA, FOREIGN LANGUAGE GROUPS)
(1-100- CP, USA, CULTURE)
(1-100-26603 CP, USA, NEW YORK DISTRICT)
(1-100- "THE WORKER")
(1-100- AMNESTY FOR GIL GREEN AND HENRY WINSTON)
3-Baltimore (RM)
(1-100-12076 GEORGE MEYER)
(1-100-)
(1-100-12464 CP, USA, ORGANIZATION)
2-Boston (RM)
(1-100-775 HOMER CHASE)
(1-100-20779 CP, USA, ORGANIZATION)
2-Buffalo (RM)
(1-100-10454)
(1-100- CP, USA, ORGANIZATION)
11-Chicago (RM)
(1-100-24729 MANNY BLUM)
(1-61-867 CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
(1-100-12789 GERALDYNE LIGHTFOOT)
(1-100-22483)
(1-100-3313 JACK KLING)

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Chicago (con't)
(1-100-2749 MOLLY (LNU), White, Female, Negro Committee)
(1-100-20289 [REDACTED])
(1-100-12459 FLO HALL)
(1-100-2748 SAM KUSHNER)
(1-100-30108 DANNY (Youth Delegate))
(1-100-18953 CP, USA, ORGANIZATION)
5-Cleveland (RM)
(1-100-421 GUS HALL)
(1-100-721 ANTON KRCHMAREK)
(1-100-222 [REDACTED])
(1-100- NATE (LNU))
(1-100-17257 CP, USA, ORGANIZATION)
5-Detroit (RM)
(1-100-8482 [REDACTED])
(1-100-13420 CARL WINTER)
(1-100-13740 HELEN WINTER)
(1-100-3016 [REDACTED])
(1-100-2050 CP, USA, ORGANIZATION)
2-Indianapolis (RM)
(1-100-9529 MANNY BLUM)
(1-100- CP, USA, ORGANIZATION)
1-Kansas City (RM)
(1-100- CP, USA, ORGANIZATION)
8-Los Angeles (RM)
(1-100-4486 DOROTHY HEALEY)
(1-100-4663 BEN DOBBS)
(1-100-4963 PETTIS PERRY)
(1-100- [REDACTED])
(1-100-52571 [REDACTED])
(1-100- CP, USA, ORGANIZATION)
(1-100- CP, USA, LOS ANGELES DISTRICT, FACTIONALISM)
(1-100- CP, USA, LOS ANGELES DISTRICT, NEGRO QUESTION)
3-Milwaukee (RM)
(1-100- C. MARTIN)
(1-100-4 FRED BLAIR)
(1-100-42-1 CP, USA, ORGANIZATION)
4-Minneapolis (RM)
(1-100-371 [REDACTED])
(1-100- HANLEY (LNU))
(1-100-1902 CLARENCE HATHAWAY)
(1-100-1878-P CP, USA, ORGANIZATION)

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1b

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4-Philadelphia (RM)
 (1-65-1686 TOM NABRIED)
 (1-100- [REDACTED] (Youth Delegate))
 (1-100- (FNU) ROCHESTER (Credentials Committee))
 (1-100-31723 CP, USA, ORGANIZATION)
2-Portland (RM)
 (1-100- [REDACTED])
 (1-100- CP, USA, ORGANIZATION)
2-St. Louis (RM)
 (1-100- C. MARTIN)
 (1-100-7781 CP, USA, ORGANIZATION)
7-San Francisco (RM)
 (1-100- [REDACTED])
 (1-65-1242 MICKEY LIMA)
 (1-61-398 [REDACTED])
 (1-100- [REDACTED])
 (1-61-415 AL RICHMOND)
 (1-100-27988 [REDACTED])
 (1-100-27747 CP, USA, ORGANIZATION)
2-San Juan (RM)
 (1-100- JUAN SANTOS RIVERA)
 (1-100- CP, USA, ORGANIZATION)
4-Seattle (RM)
 (1-100- MARY (LNU), Negro, Female, Negro Committee)
 (1-100-127 BERT NELSON)
 (1-100- CAL (LNU), White, Male, Negro Committee)
 (1-100- CP, USA, ORGANIZATION)
1-Washington Field (RM)
 (1-100- CP, USA, ORGANIZATION)
68-Newark
 (1-100-19491 PAT TOOHEY)
 (1-100-32233 [REDACTED])
 (1-100-35106 [REDACTED])
 (1-100- [REDACTED])
 (1-100-38042 [REDACTED])
 (1-100-31973 [REDACTED])
 (1-100-33259 [REDACTED])
 (1-100-35435 [REDACTED])
 (1-100- DAVE (LNU) (Youth Delegate))
 (1-100-4284D MEMBERSHIP)
 (1-100-4284J BRIEF)
 (1-100-4284K NEGRO QUESTION)

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(1-100-4284L YOUTH MATTERS)

(1-100-4284U FACTIONALISM)

(1-100-4284V CONNECTIONS OF NEW JERSEY CP WITH CP, USA)

(1-100-4284-7S-1F TUBMAN SECTION)

(50-100-41019 CP, USA - To be retained to be furnished
to other offices as further identifications
are effected)

NK 100-4284E

EXTREME CARE SHOULD BE EXERCISED IN USING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION TO PRECLUDE COMPROMISING THE INFORMANT.

December 16, 1959

On December 10, to 13, 1959 the 17th National Convention, COMMUNIST PARTY (CP), USA, was convened at the Hotel Theresa, 125th Street and 7th Avenue, New York City.

The convention was called to order by ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, after which a welcoming address was given by BEN DAVIS. FLYNN then read greetings from WILLIAM Z. FOSTER. FLYNN also read a message of greetings from the CP of Ireland and JAMES JACKSON read greetings from the CPs of India, Bulgaria, Israel, Great Britain, Norway, and Japan.

PHIL BART then spoke concerning the convention organization, announcing there will be nine sessions, including the Sunday afternoon session. All committees elected that day will meet in the evening to organize their work. At this point the presiding committee was elected, after which the morning session was adjourned for lunch.

At the outset of the afternoon session, the following committees were nominated and elected, with the chairmen, insofar as could be determined:

General Resolutions Committee
JAMES JACKSON

Peace Committee
HY LUMER

Trade Union Committee
IRVING POTASH

Negro Resolutions Committee
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

Defense Committee
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

Women's Matters Committee

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NK 100-4284E

Latin America Committee
PAT TOOHEY

1960 Elections Committee
BEN DAVIS

Youth Matters Committee
BILL ALBERTSON

Appeals Committee
(First Name Unknown) NABRIED

Credentials Committee
(First Name Unknown) KLING

This latter committee also had as its membership ERWIN (Last Name Unknown), from New York City; (First Name Unknown) ROCHESTER, from Philadelphia; and HANLEY (Last Name Unknown), from Minnesota.

Farm Committee
DELL (Last Name Unknown)

Party Organization Committee
(First Name Unknown) LIMA

A motion was made and adopted limiting debate from the floor to seven minutes per speaker. A delegate could speak again but only after all others had been heard on that particular subject matter. At this point GUS HALL gave the Keynote Speech and stated in part:

These are turbulent times. We are living in a period when events move with great speed -- when decades are at times telescoped into weeks. Nor is the turbulence merely on the surface of things. The movement of events today is profoundly reshaping the world. It is basically altering the relationship of forces and is creating a constant succession of new, unprecedented situations. And the pace of these changes grows faster as time goes on.

It is in the midst of these developments that our 17th Convention meets. During the next four days we will undertake, dispassionately and realistically, to appraise the

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state of affairs in the world and in our own country, and to chart our course for the momentous period which lies ahead of us. This is a difficult task, but it is also an exciting and enthusing task -- and a rewarding one.

TWO CONVENTIONS

The scope and speed of events is dramatized with special force by the contrast between the atmosphere, surrounding circumstances and outlook of this convention and the corresponding features of the 16th Convention. That convention took place in the midst of confusion and bewilderment resulting from the revelations of the 20th Congress of the CPSU concerning the weaknesses and mistakes of the Stalin era. It took place amid the disorientation and questioning created by the Polish and Hungarian revolts.

That was a period when world tensions were on the upgrade, and when the DULLES policies of "brinkmanship" and "massive retaliation" were in the ascendency. It was the period of the Suez invasion.

It was a time when the Party was in the depths of a crisis in which its very life or death was a subject of intense debate. It was a time of the gathering of the right opportunist and liquidationist forces for their assault on the Party, an assault reflecting the world-wide revisionist swing which developed under the pressures of bourgeois ideology and as a reaction to the "Left" sectarian, dogmatic practices of the past.

Finally, the convention took place when the Party was just emerging from the disruption created by the attacks on it under the Smith Act and other repressive measures of the period when McCarthyism was at its heights.

Looking back on the situation of those days, it must be said that the 16th Convention, in spite of all its weaknesses, was a positive achievement.

That convention had before it two central problems: 1) Whether or not there was a place for a COMMUNIST PARTY in the U. S., and; 2) whether such a Party, under American conditions, could be a Marxist-Leninist Party. Despite the

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difficulties of that period, the struggle and the resolutions gave affirmative answers to those questions and laid the basis for the re-consolidation of our Party. Those struggles were necessary, and they prepared the Party to meet today's tasks.

As is true in all phenomena, the elements of change -- of the new -- were then already discernable. The McCarthyite hysteria had already begun to subside. The Supreme Court decision had opened the doors to a new stage of the school desegregation fight. The peace movement was beginning to move forward, with the development of the campaign against nuclear tests. And the painful re-examination and correction of the 20th Congress contained within themselves the seeds of a new clarity and cleansing, and of a new upsurge of the world Marxist-Leninist movement. All these developments, however, were then present in embryo or in their initial stages.

How radically and unalterably different are the circumstances in which our 17th Convention meets! Our Party enters this convention victorious over the elements of liquidationism and revisionism, and having in the main eradicated their twin evils -- "Left" sectarianism and dogmatism.

This is a convention which ends all holding operations and set our sights to the future. It is a convention of advance, of progress. This is the first convention to take place in the era when the socialist forces of the world have attained dominance, and when the world peace forces, for the first time in history, are the most powerful voice and movement on the world scene. This convention is being held at a time when the portals of opportunity have been opened to a new era of mankind, free of the scourge of war.

And it is being held at a time when the decline in our own ranks has been halted, when the morale and fighting spirit of our membership is on the upgrade, reflecting these new developments in the world. The factionalism which caused such tremendous damage and threatened the very existence of the Party has been defeated, though remnants of it still exist.

In view of all this, the goals and aims of this convention must be far higher, far in advance of those of the

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16th Convention. The heart of the 16th Convention was the struggle against those who maintained that there was no place for a COMMUNIST PARTY. Today this question does not even exist. Rather the central question of this convention is: What is the role of the Party in this entirely new situation? How can it now move out into the broad stream of the people's movement; how can it break the bonds of its isolation and become more and more effectively a factor in the life of our nation -- in the growing movement for peace, in the struggle of the workers, the Negro people, the youth and other sections of the people.

In order to better understand the position we are in today we must take a closer look at the new and developing world and the position our nation occupies in it. The outstanding world phenomenon of today is the fact that the balance of strength is tipping decidedly in the direction of the socialist world and is of profound importance to every capitalist country. This is pointed up in the emergence after World War II of not one but a group of socialist countries embracing fully one-third of the world's people. Within a matter of a few years, these countries, so recently looked upon as backward, bid to become the dominant economic force in the world. This is a fundamental change, whose ramifications basically affect all parts of the world. But it is not the only challenge which has developed to the position of American capitalism and the emergence of these colonial countries and the revolutionary development in Cuba represents the beginning of the end of the era of imperialism. These developments have narrowed the sphere of colonial exploitation and have shut off, one after another, the pipelines of imperialist super profits from these sources. The independence of these countries today is not nominal but genuine. What makes it genuine is the existence of the socialist world -- a world on which they can rely for the assistance they need, and which imperialism has so long denied them. The very lives of the new regimes in Egypt, Iraq and Cuba would have been cut short, were it not for the firm position for non-intervention taken by the peace forces of the world, with the Soviet Union, People's China and other socialist nations in the forefront.

Another major development of this era is the economic revival of the other capitalist countries. Today they are able to compete with American capitalists in many areas in

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which American products once reigned supreme. Growing competition from abroad has greatly narrowed the trade surplus enjoyed by this country and has created a threat to the stability of the dollar.

In the fight for peace, the cold war policies of positions of strength and brinkmanship on the part of the United States have proven themselves increasingly bankrupt. A major factor in this area has been the peace policies of the Soviet Union. In this lie the reasons for the proposal by EISENHOWER for the exchange of visits with KHRUSHCHEV leading to the historic visit of KHRUSHCHEV to this country and its momentous consequences. This represents a break in the direction of American foreign policy. It is not by any means the end of the cold war, but the key thing is that the public admission of the bankruptcy of the old policies and the need for a change has opened the flood gates of discussion as to what the new policies should be. In this connection we must see clearly the distinctive features of the fight for peace in the present period. In past years we organized, conducted and led a campaign for peace, including the notable Stockholm Peace Appeal. We did so in the context of the fundamentally correct analysis that a danger of war existed, exemplified by Korea and later by Indo-China. Today we are again taking part in a campaign for peace, but in the context of a new analysis -- again fundamentally correct -- that lasting peace, total disarmament and peaceful coexistence are in the cards, that they are realizable goals.

The past drive occurred in an atmosphere of jingoism and national chauvinism; this one is unfolding in an atmosphere in which the whole nation is discussing the banning of nuclear tests, total disarmament and peaceful coexistence. These factors should indicate to us the need for new, fresh, concrete thinking.

The sentiment for peace is general and over-all in scope and the fight for peace must be developed in specific forms. Cutting down on armaments is the only possible road to cutting down the ever-mounting burden of taxes. The building of schools, roads, hospitals, parks, houses and other things the people need so badly is blocked by the spending of huge sums for armaments. War economy has been accepted as a normal and necessary part of our economic system and this stands

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as a roadblock to the forces for peace. We have the task of removing this roadblock.

Another roadblock is the body of thought that the Negro people can break down the bars of discrimination in industry, housing and education only when our nation is either at war or preparing for war. Many Negro workers are at the bottom of the seniority list. Therefore any cutback in production means unemployment for them. This presents a definite challenge to us.

Similarly, we need to deal with other specific problems affecting the young people, women, the handicapped and the older workers. Generalities will not do.

Hence, while we take part in the general crusade for peace, we must understand that specific groups, because of specific interests, will start from and rally around narrower issues involved in the fight for peace. With some, unrestricted trade with the socialist countries will be the starting point, with others it will be the dangers of fallout. For still others, disarmament will be the point of greatest interest.

We must see the fight for peace realistically in all its many-sided aspects. At this point, the need is not for starting a peace movement from scratch. Such a movement is here. It expresses itself in a thousand ways and at a variety of levels. At this stage, it is above all expressed through the existing mass organizations of the people.

PROBLEMS ON THE HOME FRONT

As in all phenomena, there is a close relationship between world developments and those on the domestic scene. What is it that best describes our domestic situation as we enter the decade of the sixties? Is it tranquility, stability? Are we moving on the path of unending growth and expansion? In spite of the present high level of production, this does not fit the realities of life in our country. Rather, the state of affairs in our nation is better described as one of instability, uneasiness and hesitation. What best describes the United States of the sixties is the growing catalog of serious problems, steadily becoming more aggravated, which are seeking solution.

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An outstanding new feature on the home scene is the development of automation, whose many ramifications and effects are now reaching into all aspects of our national life. This is largely at the bottom of the drive to undermine working conditions in steel, on the railroads, on the waterfront, and many other industries and also serves as an instrument whereby big business can destroy small competitors. We must work out definite plans and demands with the aim that at least part of the fruits of this technological advance will go to benefit the working people of our land.

Another feature of the home scene is the growing financial instability of the country with our ever-rising national debt. The burden of taxes to meet this demand has grown to impossible levels yet government spending continues to rise.

Another important feature is the chronic agricultural crisis with farmers being increasingly squeezed between shrinking farm prices and mounting production costs. There are growing areas of desolation in marginal farmlands, with farmers driven out in rising numbers due to modern farm methods in more productive areas.

To all of this we must add the failure of our society to provide adequate housing, education and health facilities, which problem becomes more acute every year.

Affected by all these things in the sharpest measure are the eighteen million Negroes and five million Mexican-Americans and the million or more Puerto Ricans in this country.

We have on the one hand the beginnings of a readjustment of direction in the sphere of foreign policy, but on the other hand monopoly capital has reacted to the developments at home in an opposite manner such as a concentrated drive against labor, represented by the Landrum-Griffin Bill and proposals for anti-strike legislation. Accompanying the anti-labor offensive is a drive against civil rights and civil liberties. The entire drive of big business reaction is of such scope and nature as to make the overwhelming majority of Americans its victims. Therein lies the key to our mass and united front policies. In the labor movement there are pressures and rumblings which sections of the leadership are

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compelled to take notice which is indicated by the militancy of the steel workers. The Negro people's movement has shown an upsurge in a number of fields which is among other things indicated by the formation of Negro Labor Committee on the initiative of A. PHILIP RANDOLPH. Also among the youth there are growing signs of rebellion against the lack of decent jobs, training facilities, McCarthyite intimidation in our educational institutions and segregation.

Our electoral policies and activities in 1960 constitute an extension of such a united front policy. In very specific forms, the American people must find ways, through candidates and campaigns, to advance the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence and to halt the offensive of big business at home. While giving priority to the peace issue, all the needs of the people must be fought for. In connection with the election campaign, broad electoral unity must be forged to oppose the chief candidates of reaction and the cold war and to promote the pro-peace, pro-labor and pro-civil rights candidates. Labor and the Negro can no longer be satisfied with just a few from their ranks in public office. Also, an imperative task is to make the Dixiecrats a major target of attack and oust them from the Democratic Party. The establishment of Federal Registrars must be sought in 1960 to prevent local restrictive measures against Negroes and others who are now denied the right to vote.

By boldly moving into the apparatus of the two-party system, and by mobilizing and organizing an independent political force around this activity, the base for the future can be laid.

In connection with the Party, HALL stated that a Marxist-Leninist Party must not only base itself on the general truth but must gear itself to the specific surroundings and conditions in which it lives and works. In order to reflect our maturity, we must quickly gear ourselves to the new period ahead of us and one of the best guarantees that we will be able to meet this challenge is that we are now a united Party. We can therefore now turn all of our attention and energies to the mass task and political responsibility we face. We are no longer a stagnant Party but a live, growing organization.

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In this connection we must end negativism in the Party. This cynicism is not based on realities. There is no realistic political foundation for such an outlook on life in general on the prospects of socialism or on the immediate future and the best way to cure this is through activity. Activity and exchange of ideas and collective thinking is necessary.

Another general problem of our Party is struggle on two fronts and we have never really grasped the Leninist concept of the struggle. Because of this we have had tendency to swing from one extreme to another. Many distortions have come about because of the confusion, because of that which is tactical and the factors that go into tactical questions and that which is strategic, basic and fundamental. During periods when our emphasis is against the Right danger, all tactical questions tend to be raised to the level of principle and during periods when the emphasis is against the Left danger, principles are generally brought down to a tactical level. We have not fully learned the lesson that while one or the other of the germs is active and weakening the Party, the opposite germ moves in. We have now basically corrected these distortions, but we still tend to shy away now from very important questions that we simply must face up to even under present day conditions. Besides the weakness of not checking our policies against the realities of struggle, we must also admit self-critically that our work has not been anchored deeply enough in the science of Marxism-Leninism.

We have a heavy schedule ahead for the next four days and this 17th Convention will go down in history as the convention that made a decisive turn in the life of our Party and I have a feeling that this will be the convention that put an end to all concepts of a holding operation; that set our Party solidly on the path of becoming a factor in the life of our people and above all our class; that puts a finis on all factionalism and on all one-sidedness, and a halt to all negativism. This is a convention of a united party -- of a party that is going places.

Following HALL's address, HY LUMER gave a report on Disarmament and the American Economy. He furnished statistics dealing with the nature of arms economy and pointing out what he called the vast profits percentage-wise being realized

by some 500 of the largest companies in the United States as a result of arms contracts. He pointed out that the products, in view of their uselessness except for war, offer no competition with production for the civilian market. He also pointed out that this production is as wasteful as if the goods were simply dumped into the ocean and only serve as a means of destroying the economic surplus which capitalism inevitably generates. Furthermore, since it destroys part of the national wealth the money spent on arms maintains a given level of demand, without producing an equivalent supply of goods or services. Since the American people have been living under a permanent arms economy, the workers have come to look on arms production as a guarantee of jobs. LUMER then cited the cost of some modern war machinery and what this money could replace in the terms of civilian needs such as schools, hospitals, etc., and also what could be done in the terms of tax cuts without this great arms expenditure. He also emphasized the fact that world tensions would be eased and trade opened with the socialist world. The potential volume of such trade is large enough to make it a factor of large importance to American economy. He emphasized the fact also that disarmament would create problems of unemployment but only temporarily. This unemployment could be ended with the conversion to production for peacetime purposes and the expansion of civilian markets. Problems would also be created by the sudden addition to the civilian labor force of some three million men and women released from the Armed Forces. Here the payment of unemployment benefits to such veterans, along the lines of the 52-20 payments after World War II, would help materially to meet the situation. Not the least are special steps that are needed to aid the Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican-American workers who, being last hired and first fired, would be subjected to special hardships. Also assistance to small business in the form of tax credits or financial aid is needed. None of these things will be won without a struggle. It will not abolish the contradictions of capitalism nor remedy the basic instability of the American economy. It will, however, remove the principal obstacle to reduction of taxes and improvement of social welfare.

If any real advance is to be made in the direction of disarmament, sentiment among the American people must find organized expression. The main leadership of organized labor must be brought to abandon its present suicidal policy

of aggressive promotion of cold war policies. At the same time it is necessary to expose the hoax that arms production is the answer to unemployment and to launch a fight for economic alternatives to the arms economy.

The full realization of this potential requires more than the ending of war; it requires the victory of socialism and the COMMUNIST PARTY must be found in the front ranks of this fight.

Following LUMER's report several speakers from the floor got up and commented generally favorably on both the Keynote speech and LUMER's report.

Among the speakers was PAUL ROBESON, JR., who stated the Party must become one of action with a leadership capable of moving masses of people. He opposed establishment of an anti-monopoly coalition as a necessary condition in the Negro campaign. He said the Negro Labor Alliance is dealt with too vaguely and emphasized the fact that the Negro people are conscious of the fact that their rights are tied up with peaceful coexistence. He said that a third political party is necessary to carry out these aims.

PHIL BART then announced that all committees will meet that evening. The convention was adjourned at this point.

That evening, from 8:30 to 11:00 P.M., and to 1:30 P.M. Friday, the Negro Resolutions Committee held a meeting. There were approximately fifteen people in attendance at the Thursday night session and upwards to twenty-five people were present during the Friday morning session. Among those present at either one or both of these meetings of the Negro Resolutions Committee were [redacted] a Negro male, 5' 9" tall, 165 pounds, 38 to 40 years of age, from Eastern Pennsylvania; MOLLY (Last Name Unknown), white female, 5' 4" tall, 140 pounds, build plump, approximately 40 years of age, from Chicago; GEORGE MEYER, white male, 6' 1" tall, 220 pounds, approximately 48 years of age, from Maryland; [redacted] Negro female, 5' 3" tall, 125 pounds, wears glasses, about 45 years of age, brown eyes; PAUL ROBESON, JR., Negro male, 5' 10" tall, 170 pounds, wears glasses, light skin; CAL (Last Name Unknown), white male, 5' 9" tall, 135 to 145 pounds, from Washington State; MARY (Last Name Unknown), Negro female, 5' 5" tall, 150 pounds, build plump, from Washington State; WILLIAM L.

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PATTERSON; (First Name Unknown) JACKSON, white male, 5' 6" tall, 160 pounds, 55 years of age, grey receding hair, from New York; HOMER CHASE, white male, 6', 170 pounds, 50 years of age, from New England; NATE (Last Name Unknown), from Ohio, no description available; ARCHIE BROWN, Negro male, place unknown; DOROTHY (Last Name Unknown), white female, 5' 4" tall, 110 pounds, black hair, wears glasses; BEN DOBBS; PETTIS PERRY; CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, the Chairman of this committee; [redacted] Negro male, 5' 11" tall, 190 pounds, black hair, maroon eyes, from New Jersey; LEM HARRIS, Negro male, 5' 8" tall, 145 pounds, dark complexion, 40 years old, from Ohio; and JAMES JACKSON.

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The whole course of this caucus was spent on a study of the resolution on the Negro Question in the United States as originally published in the September, 1959 issue of "Political Affairs." Also discussed at the caucus was the contents of a discussion article on the Negro Question written by [redacted] from the Southern California District of the COMMUNIST PARTY. His article in part stated that according to the Draft Resolution on the Negro Question "All signs point to an early and triumphant resolution of the centuries-old battle of the Negro people for full and equal citizenship," and according to the JACKSON article endorsed by the National Committee, the struggle for reforms within the framework of the Constitution is "the requisite form for the Negro people to secure their full freedom aims." In [redacted] opinion the above two statements constitute the very heart of the proposed new line on the Negro Question. [redacted] further stated that the main theoretical question confronting the Party is simply this: Is the Negro Question a revolutionary question involving the smashing of the Wall Street-Dixiecrat dictatorship in the Deep South which is based upon semi-feudal exploitation and national oppression of the Negro people in the Black Belt? Or is it a Constitutional question involving gradual reforms within the framework of the present system? He stated the Draft Resolution attempts to prove that the Negro Question is a constitutional one and its proponents do not even conceive of a movement for radical change as a phase of the socialist revolution. He felt it divorces the Negro Question from the question of revolution in general and from the socialist revolution in the United States specifically. The discussion bulletin was generally anti-national Negro Resolution and in conclusion stated that there can be no valid objection to a

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re-examination of our positions in the light of new developments, new trends and changed conditions if that re-examination is conducted with a dialectical method and in a spirit of Marxist-Leninist science. The re-establishment of a revolutionary position on the Negro Question makes urgent a concentration of work in the south with confidence in our ability to build a mass movement there.

After much discussion both at the Thursday evening and Friday morning sessions of the caucus, the whole line of the resolution on the Negro Question as originally published was agreed upon.

The Negro Resolutions Committee adjourned at approximately the same time as the main convention adjourned for lunch and returned to the convention at 2:30 in the afternoon of the second session. The first order of business that afternoon concerned the proposal that a committee visit JUAN SANTOS RIVERA, President of the Communist Party of Puerto Rico, who is in the hospital as a result of an automobile accident.

Several speakers got up and discussed the recent steel strike, automation, and other trade union activity. Among the speakers was MILT from New York, who discussed the KHRUSHCHEV visit, the Draft Resolution, and its improvement over the 16th National Convention program, however, was still inadequate in the area of labor and the Negro. He emphasized that bold and creative leadership both nationally and internationally is necessary. He also pointed out areas of a sharp class struggle and cited labor and management, housing, schools, etc.

The above resolution which was apparently the Trade Union Resolution, was voted on and adopted.

The next major order of business concerned the introduction of the Negro Resolution. This was done by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT. In introducing the resolution he traced its development and noted it had been reviewed and amended on several occasions. He remarked that the committee urged the adoption of the resolution. However, they were in favor of dropping the slogan "Self Determination," but this should not detract from the main line of the Negro Question.

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A considerable amount of discussion arose over the Negro Resolution and turned mainly around the question of the lack of mention of youth and women. The resolution was finally adopted.

The convention adjourned at this point.

The evening session on December 11, 1959 convened at approximately 8:30 P.M. The first major piece of business concerned a report by BEN DAVIS on the 1960 Elections and the Party's role in these elections. DAVIS' report concerning the elections in 1960 dealt with the task the Party faces and stated it is to influence movements and issues which are peace, disarmament, civil rights, labor, living standards, civil liberties, and the question of taxation. Concerning each of these topics he mentioned that the central political task confronting the labor, peace and democratic forces are: 1) To bring the fight for peace up to the pace demanded by current developments in the struggle for total disarmament and peaceful coexistence. It is necessary to bring these issues before every facet of American life. 2) It is essential to work for broad electoral unity to oppose the candidates of reaction and the cold war and as a corollary to this to promote the election of pro-peace, pro-labor, and pro-civil rights candidates. 3) That Dixiecrats be made a major target of attack and defeat their reactionary allies in the North. 4) Institution of a system of federal voting registrars throughout the South. 5) Full support for labor proposals for conferences early in 1960 on a national and local scale of labor and its allies. 6) Where reactionary candidates have been nominated by both parties, democratic and peace candidates should be promoted on independent tickets. 7) The COMMUNIST PARTY, in order to advance the unity of the people, to promote and clarify the issues of the campaign and to educate for socialism, will run its own candidates.

To advance the cause of peace and progress, the COMMUNIST PARTY will enlist support for the following immediate program:

1. Guarantee peace for our country and the world by outlawing nuclear war, and war as a means of settling differences between countries. End the cold war and establish a policy of peaceful co-existence with peaceful relations,

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recognition of and normal relations with People's China, trade and friendship with all nations. For total disarmament and cuts in the military budget. Start reduction of taxes on low incomes.

2. Defend the Constitution and restore the Bill of Rights. Abolish the witch-hunting House Un-American Activities Committee and the Senate Internal Security Committee. Freedom for HENRY WINSTON, ROBERT THOMPSON, GILBERT GREEN, and all other political prisoners, including MORTON SOBELL, who is now serving his ninth year of a brutal 30-year sentence. Protect the rights of the foreign-born against deportation and harassment. Repeal the Smith and McCarran Act and establish the full legality of the COMMUNIST PARTY.

3. For equal rights and full citizenship of the Negro people. Abolish JIM CROW segregation. Enforce the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments. Enact civil rights legislation to establish these rights immediately.

4. Advance labor's right to organize, strike, to participate in political action. Repeal the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin laws. Prohibit strikebreaking by court injunction. Halt all Taft-Hartley prosecutions. Guarantee the right to a job and improved living and working conditions.

Adequate compensation for all unemployed for the entire period of unemployment. Establish the 30-hour week with no reduction in pay. Increase social security payments.

5. Protect the rights of the small farmers to their land and their implements. Assure adequate income through price supports. Provide credit and government loans at nominal interest rates. Market farm surpluses through foreign trade and to feed the hungry here and abroad.

6. Aid small business by tax relief and easy credit.

7. Enact an American Youth Act to meet the needs of the youth for education, recreation, health, and jobs. For the 18-year old vote.

8. Enact health, education, cultural, and housing programs to meet the people's needs without corruption and profiteering.

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9. Establish public ownership and operation of all atomic energy facilities, railroads and public utilities.

10. Halt monopoly profiteering. Put the tax burden on corporate wealth and high personal income, on the basis of taxation according to ability to pay.

After a few comments by delegates from the floor, all generally favorable, the resolution was unanimously adopted.

The next order of business concerned the Farm Resolution.

The individual, unknown, who presented the Farm Resolution remarked that the middlesized and small farmer is continually being squeezed out of business. He pointed out that only "big agriculture" pays. He stated the advantage of big farmers is the vast profits they sweat out of the unpaid and exploited farm worker and that the organization of effective unions among farm workers would be a major help to small and middle farmers. Farm price protection must be changed to reduce the cost of farm programs and discourage all-out production by big farmers. The COMMUNIST PARTY urges full participation of its members in every struggle to maintain small and middle farmers on their farms, including support of legislative programs for low-interest credit, soil conservation, crop insurance, Federal aid to education and other demands of small farmers and the enactment of a national food stamp plan that will supplement starvation wages imposed on millions of Americans, and that will provide adequate food and clothing to the millions in depressed areas. The world also needs a food stamp plan. We should subsidize the shipment of food overseas instead of hardware for destruction. He closed by stating the Party favors the immediate preparation of pamphlets and literature which will provide a survey of the existing farm situation to the broadest masses of farmers, workers and middle class people and make known the Party's position on the critical issues facing the farmers, and on the methods of their solution. The National Executive Committee should be directed to establish a functioning farm commission to include a member of the NEC and to further establish regional farm commissions under the regional subcommittees of the Party.

There was no debate on this and the resolution was adopted.

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The next report was from the Credentials Committee. The identity of this individual is unknown. He stated there were 187 people in attendance with the following breakdown: 131 regular delegates; 25 alternate delegates; 15 fraternal delegates; and 16 visitors.

He stated further that at that particular session there were an additional forty-one people composed of two delegates, two alternates, five fraternal, and thirty-two visitors. He stated this represented New York State, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Maryland, District of Columbia, Washington State, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Oregon, California, Texas, Michigan, Missouri, and New England. He stated that of the delegates and alternates 112 were men, 39 women, and 33 Negroes. He stated that by age group, 1 delegate was under 25 years of age; 29 delegates between 25 and 35; 22 delegates between 35 and 40; 58 delegates between 40 and 50; and 44 delegates between 50 and 60. He announced that in number of years in the Party, 11 delegates had been in under 10 years; 24 delegates had been in 10 to 15 years; 24 delegates 15 to 20 years; 68 delegates 20 to 30 years; 12 delegates over 30 years; and 5 were charter members of the COMMUNIST PARTY. Two-thirds of the delegates and alternates present were 40 years of age or older.

He further announced that by occupation, 43 are industrial workers; 40 are white collar workers; 9 are housewives; 2 are farm housewives; 5 are professional; 4 are self-employed; 2 are farmers; and 3 are students. He also announced that of the 83 industrial and white collar workers, 49 are in trade unions. Further, of the delegates, 28 are full-time workers in the Party.

This report from the Credentials Committee was the last order of business and this session of the convention adjourned at approximately 11:00 P.M.

On Saturday morning, December 12, 1959, the morning session convened at approximately 10:30 A.M. The first order of business consisted of greetings from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

The next item on the agenda was a report on Party organization by PHIL BART. He did not deal with the main

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report as such, as it had previously been furnished, but stated he would discuss amendments and changes. The main stress was given to the amendments on the developing of the united front movement. He said the link between mass work and the Party is the local club and remarked that constructive leadership is being encouraged to improve the work of the Party. He recommended that emphasis be placed on the development and training of women, particularly Negro women. He recommended that the resolution on Party organization be discussed on all levels and that following the discussion the districts should hold meetings and make proposals concerning the Party organization.

In connection with Party membership, he remarked that the convention represented close to 6,000 members on the basis of dues payments. This does not include non-dues paying people who have lost contact or were cut off but still consider themselves members. He said the dues payments reflect 70% of the membership. He remarked that if the looseness of the organization can be overcome, the membership would be close to 10,000. He further remarked that they would present a resolution dealing with a membership drive running from now until May Day of 1960.

There was a considerable amount of discussion from the floor concerning BART's speech and among the speakers was [redacted] from Detroit. He said more people are needed in mass work. One of the problems confronting the Party is the necessity to overcome the gaps that have developed between the leadership and the membership. He called for a higher echelon reorganization that could effectively close this gap. Included in this would be more authority being granted to the county and state organizations to develop and carry out policy in their own areas.

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[redacted] from Buffalo, stated that a new unity was developing in the Party. He remarked there is a sharp class struggle in Buffalo and based this on the steel strike, attacks on the Negro people in Buffalo, and a local tax question. In these areas he stated the Party has played a vanguard role, but not a decisive role. He introduced a resolution dealing with a building campaign for the Party calling for increased quality along with quantity. Each National Committee member should adopt a personal quota and each club should

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adopt a quota and each National officer elected should be assigned to a district to aid in this recruiting drive. resolution was adopted.

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The Party Organization Resolution also was adopted unanimously.

The next order of business was a resolution on the work and status of women presented by a woman from Northern California. She pointed out that women are already in motion fighting against exploitation and discrimination in the home, shop, and farm, and are making every effort for full participation in the economic, social and cultural and political life in the country. She recommended the use of women as a political force in the 1960 elections and accused big business of using male supremacy as a means of carrying out the concept of the women being weakminded, weak-kneed, and totally unstable. In this connection she presented the following proposal:

1. The consciousness of the status of women, the rights of women; and the role of women should be drawn like a thread through every aspect of Party work.
2. Set up a National Women's Commission with all deliberate speed....also commissions in the Districts wherever possible.
3. The Party has the task of putting forward a program that will bring forth all women in work and leadership... with special attention to the problems of Negro, Puerto Rican, and Mexican-American and Indian women.
4. An ideological and popular program to understand the source of discrimination against women.
5. A program to understand and popularize the role of women under Socialism.
6. Conferences and discussions to develop local, and national program of work and status of women.

This resolution was unanimously adopted by the convention.

The next resolution introduced was one on Mexican-Americans residing primarily in the Los Angeles area. This

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was done by one SAL (Last Name Unknown) from California. He described these people as an oppressed minority and pointed out their many problems both social and economic and he urged the re-establishment of the Party in the Southwest and organization of the Mexican cadre.

An unknown woman from California then gave a report on Japanese-American and American Indian activity in the Party. Recommended action in these two areas be placed on the Party agenda. These proposals were adopted.

A Press Report was then given by GEORGE MEYER. He introduced the following resolution in connection with the work of the Press:

The 17th Convention of our Party instructs the incoming National Committee to make the building of "The Worker" a responsibility to be assumed by the Party as a whole and by every individual member of the Party.

In assuming this great responsibility this Convention believes that the National Committee should place a major political duty upon all Party leaders to give guidance and specific attention to the building of Worker circulation.

The Worker can and must be carried to the American people.

This convention believes that promises and preparations should be made early for financial aid to The Worker's 1960 financial campaign.

This Convention proposes to the incoming National Committee to organize a financial campaign for support of The Worker for \$75,000 or more which will begin on the 36th anniversary of The Worker, January 13, and end on or before the last of May.

The present circulation of The Worker is between 13 and 14 thousand. This Convention believes that that circulation can be successfully raised to 20,000 within the year 1960.

It therefore instructs the incoming National Committee to create a standing Worker Builders Committee which will

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immediately formulate a circulation campaign to begin together with the financial campaign.

It is obvious that conditions do not permit uniform responsibilities. But this Convention believes that no District of the Party should be without a press director.

We believe that the greatest possible coordination should exist between those responsible for the building of The Worker and those responsible for its production.

Everywhere efforts must be made to help create Build the Press Committees, or Volunteers for the Worker, or what have you.

While The Worker is not the official Voice of our Party, we hereby declare its building indispensable to the building of the COMMUNIST PARTY and the many movements seeking to create a security and peaceful life to the American people.

Also, the following Press Report was furnished:

Below is a breakdown of how the main areas stand as of December 13th issue as to active subs and bundles and what your losses were in 1959 - 1958 - 1957.

Active Subs	Active Bundles	Oct-Dec	Jan-Sept '59	State
128	122	17	19	Calif.
42	33	2	17	Conn.
439	686	37	264	Illinois
40	29	4	10	Indiana
25	40	3	7	Maryland
180	335	23	69	Mich.
266	72	33	114	Minn.
43	24	1	3	Mo.
96	130	7	12	New England
113	39	13	29	New Jersey
99	239	7	21	Ohio
7	7	2	2	Oregon
114	182	9	31	E. Penna.
30	10	1	11	W. Penna.
32	23	3	9	Washington
115	62	8	38	Wisconsin
<u>1769</u>	<u>2033</u>	<u>170</u>	<u>661</u>	Natl Total

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Active Subs	Active Bundles	Oct-Dec	Jan-Sept '59	State
			693	1958
			1045	1957
845	1026	93	333	New York State
			315	1958
			1015	1957

A proposal was made from the floor that the "Daily Worker" be reinstated prior to the 1960 elections. The Press Report was unanimously accepted.

The next order of business was a report on leadership by GUS HALL. He recommended a National Committee of fifty members with thirty-five coming directly from State or District organizations and fifteen at large members. He also recommended the list be balanced with Negroes, women, and youth. The proposal for the National Committee is as follows:

New York State	8
California	6
Illinois	4
Chicago	2
Ohio	2
New England	1
Eastern Pennsylvania	1
New Jersey	1
Maryland	2
Wisconsin	1
Indiana	1
Minnesota	1
The South	2
Oregon	1
Washington State	1
Kansas-Missouri	1

He recommended the convention give the new National Committee the right to elect its officers. He recommended it meet twice a year to make basic policy, to have a National Executive Committee possibly larger than the present one, who would meet every six weeks, with a Secretariat functioning daily. This proposal was adopted.

They may, however, apply for readmission within six months, and upon approval of the club, be permitted to pay all back dues and maintain their former standing.

ARTICLE IV.

Structure

Section 2. Page 9, line 7, after by-laws, add the word Or. Line 8, delete (or state committee), retain "may determine." Delete all that follows up to end of line 23.

Retain balance of page.

Page 10, line 2, delete (at large)

Line 6, delete all material starting with (a vacancy among members) and ending with (vacancy occurred) on line 12.

ARTICLE V.

National Organization Section 1. Page 12, line 8, delete (within the first six months of the year.)

Section 4. Page 13, line 12, delete (at least 90 days). Add four months, to read:

Prior to regular National Conventions, four months shall be provided for discussions, etc.

Section 5, in the present Constitution has been deleted by referendum.

New Section 5 to read:

Section 5. That each National Convention determine the number of members of the National Committee and that election be by secret ballot.

New Section 6 to read:

Section 6. The National Committee shall be elected at the National Convention

in the following manner: That State Conventions shall make nominations to the National Committee of any member of the Party eligible in their own or any other State. Such nominations together with any other nominations made directly at the Convention shall appear on the election ballot at the National Convention unless a nominee has in the meantime declined.

That in the election of the National Committee all areas of the country be included with due regard to the size of the membership and the character of the state organization.

Present Section 6 then becomes Section 7.

Section 7 will then read:

Section 7. Vacancies shall be filled by the majority vote of the National Committee. Members may be recalled for cause by the affirmative vote of two-thirds of the members of the National Committee.

Present Section 7 becomes Section 8.

Present Section 8 becomes Section 9.

Present Section 9 becomes Section 10.

Page 15, line 6 from the bottom,
Change to read: In fulfilment of its duties
instead of (In connection with its duties).

Present Section 10 becomes Section 11.

Page 16, last line, change to read: at least
twice a instead of: (at least four times a)

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ARTICLE VI.

Rights and Duties of Members

Section 1. page 18, line 14 delete (They also have the right in accordance with Section 2 of this Article, to dissent from decisions which have been made.)

line 18, change to read:

Members should be active in carrying out the program of the Party, to read and circulate its press and literature, to increase their knowledge of scientific socialism and to attend club meetings regularly.

Section 12, page 21, line 10, delete (without prejudice).

Disciplinary Procedure and Appeals.

Section 3. Page 22, line 8, add after "any member" or party committee.

line 13, add after "in that club"
Clubs or individual members may request the help of the next higher committee on such charges.

line 16, after "trial committee" add,
of the club or appropriate higher Party body.

Section 6. Page 23, line 1. After "Any Member" add or committee.

This session of the convention was adjourned at 6:30 P.M.

Session Number 4 convened Sunday morning, December 13, 1959, at approximately 11:00 A.M.

The fourth session of the Convention started late in the morning of December 13, 1959. The first order of

business was a report on Cuba by [redacted] and the introduction of a resolution on Cuba. The resolution in [redacted] report generally dealt in glowing terms with the revolution in Cuba and the establishment of the "democratic" regime there. He mentioned the Agrarian Reform, the cutting of rents, the reduction in the cost of electricity, and the reduction in telephone rates. He noted that the Trade Unions had been strengthened with the ouster of what he called a BATISTA Labor Dictator. He also pointed out, and it was pointed out in the resolution, that the people of the United States can learn much from Cuba's democracy. They have placed the elimination of racism as one of the major immediate objectives. He pointed out this is best evidenced by the fact that Cuba's head of the Army today is a Negro and also a Negro heads the Air Force. He stated that with the United States being the most powerful imperialist country in the world, it is the imperialist forces that exploit and oppress the Cuban people and the rest of the Latin American nations. They are also the same monopolists that exploit the workers of the United States. This fact places upon the workers and progressive forces of the United States the responsibility of developing solidarity with, and aid to, the embattled people of Cuba and other nations of Latin America. He stated the Cuban people have known very little freedom until the Democratic-Popular anti-Imperialist Revolution, led by CASTRO and supported by 95% of the Cuban people including the Popular Socialist Party, brought in a movement free from corruption and determined not to compromise with the main enemy of the Cuban nation, American Imperialism. The working class of the United States today has a big stake in solidarity with the Cuban workers. These workers harbor no illusions as to who is their real enemy. When they cry "Down with Yankee Imperialism" they are resisting the same monopolists who are the bitterest exploiters of American labor. He then introduced the following resolution which was adopted by the convention:

1. Mobilize U. S. public opinion and try to organize support, especially in the trade unions, for the Cuban people.
 - a. To answer the lies and slanders being spread by imperialist circles about Cuba and its new government, through The Worker, leaflets, meetings, and forums, wherever possible.

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- b. To encourage sending telegrams of greetings from trade unions to their opposite numbers in Cuba on appropriate occasions.
 - c. To help organize assistance to Cuban workers' families -- money, clothing, blood donations.
 - d. To organize help for Cuba's school children -- contribute paper, pencils, recording machines, etc.
2. Develop continuous activity, not just sporadic actions, in support of Cuba. Keep supplying facts of background on the latest developments and outlook of Cuba.
 3. Build Friendship Organizations involving non-Cuban people with the specific and main slogan and actions of "Hands off Cuba."
 4. Send delegations to Cuba for trade union and cultural exchanges.
 5. Popularize Cuba as an ideal vacation spot and thus help build up the tourist trade of a free Cuba.
 6. We shall strive to arouse our people to combat any reactionary move to wreck the Cuban sugar quota and other measures directed to weakening Cuban economy.
 7. We call on progressive Americans to protest the unwarranted action of steamship companies trying to destroy Cuban tourist trade.

PAT TOOHEY, from New Jersey, then introduced a resolution on Puerto Rican work in the United States, which resolution came out of the Committee on Latin-American Affairs. He stated that the Party has a two-fold task in relation to Puerto Rican work. First - To aid the people in Puerto Rico in the fight against economic, social, and political oppression by Wall Street imperialism and for full sovereignty and independence. Secondly - to aid the Puerto Ricans in their struggles against extreme conditions of poverty, slum ghettos, discrimination, police brutality, and other forms of oppression against the Puerto Ricans in the United States. He stated that appropriate attention to the vital needs of the Puerto Rican and Negro people is a vital test of Communist integrity

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and responsibility. In this connection the following points of action were recommended and adopted:

1. The incoming National Committee shall make a thorough study and evaluation of our work in every community and industry in which there is a significant number of Puerto Ricans throughout the United States. Special emphasis in this study shall be given to housing, jobs, peace, and political action.
2. Consideration shall be given to Puerto Rican Commissions in states where there are large populations of Puerto Ricans, and Puerto Rican concentration clubs, enlisting for such clubs Spanish-speaking and other comrades interested in Puerto Rican work.
3. The National Convention shall organize a Party seminar and classes on Puerto Rican work in every city with large Puerto Rican communities.
4. A special bulletin shall be issued in Spanish devoted to facts of Puerto Rican life and experiences in struggles based upon the proposed study and experiences.
5. Within a reasonable time and after adequate preparation, state conferences shall be called of delegates from all clubs (or sections) to draw up a fuller state-wide plan of work. An important feature of such conferences shall be the question of jobs for Puerto Ricans and Negroes.
6. A special commission on Puerto Rican work shall be set up by the National Executive Committee.
7. The Worker, Political Affairs, and other publications shall give major attention to Puerto Rican work.
8. The Party shall make a conscious and persistent effort to involve Puerto Rican members and leaders in all phases of leadership.
9. This National Convention shall send a message of greeting to our brother Party of Puerto Rico paying tribute to the courageous stand taken by the witnesses called before the Un-American Committee in Puerto Rico, and shall pledge

them our full aid in the struggle against proposed contempt citations as well as other attacks against the sovereignty of the Puerto Rican nation. This convention recognizes the self-criticism by the National Committee of the inadequate support given to the Puerto Rican comrades and others in connection with the Un-American Committee hearings both here and in Puerto Rico.

10. This convention of the COMMUNIST PARTY of the United States demands the freedom of Dr. PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS and all other Puerto Rican political prisoners now in Puerto Rican and Federal prisons in the United States.

The next order of business concerned the findings of the Appeals Committee of the National Committee of the CP. The first item submitted was in reference to an individual from Northern California, whose initials are L. B. It was alleged that this individual openly disagreed with some of the Party program in Northern California and had been dropped from the membership. He had appealed to the National Appeals Committee, who upheld the State decision relative to his having been dropped.

The next order of business from the Appeals Committee concerned the appeal of the Tubman Section of the Essex County, New Jersey CP. The Appeals Committee reported they had met with the Tubman Section and had worked out with them a five point program which was a condition precedent to their being reinstated in the New Jersey CP. The Tubman Section had not complied with any of these conditions and among other things had stated they would only return to the CP if they were given a position of leadership. Final expulsion from the Party and no more appeal was the final decision of the Committee.

Another appeal concerned a HARRY HAYWOOD concerning an appeal of his that he is not out of the Party. The Appeals Committee ruled he is; however, he can apply for readmission. The Committee also reported they had received a communication from (First Name Unknown) LOMAN, which is being referred to the New York State Committee.

The above individual then gave a financial report. He stated in 1957 the Party income was \$196,079 and at the end of 1957 they were in the hole \$1,844. In 1958 the total income was \$133,832, while expenses were \$131,361, which

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left a net of \$2,471. For 1959 the first nine months' income was \$92,812, with a surplus of \$2,489, and a liability of \$11,018.

The next item concerned an appeal of MAX BEDACHT from New Jersey. MAX had disagreed with the State leadership of the New Jersey CP and had been expelled. His family had been asked by the CP to disassociate themselves from him, which they did not do, and they also were expelled. His case was referred to the National Committee for further inquiry.

All the business of the Appeals Committee as reported by them was accepted by the Convention.

The last order of business concerned the elections to the National Committee. ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN then submitted a list of 26 names, the first 25 of which were a preferred nominations list for the National Committee.

EUGENE DENNIS

GUS HALL

JAMES JACKSON

HY LUMER

BEN DAVIS

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

JACK STACHEL

IRVING POTASH

PHIL BART

CLARENCE HATHAWAY

PETTIS PERRY

DANNY (Last Name Unknown), Youth Delegate from Illinois

DANNY (Last Name Unknown), Youth Delegate from Eastern Pennsylvania

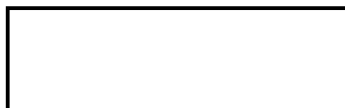
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GERALDINE LIGHTFOOT
ARNOLD JOHNSON
WILLIAM WEINSTONE
WILLIAM L. PATTERSON
GEORGE MEYER
HERB APTHEKER
JIM ALLEN
HELEN ALLISON WINTER
SI GERSON
JESUS COLON
AL RICHMOND
ERIC BERT

The following individuals were nominated from their districts as members of the National Committee. There were to be no less than 30 and no more than 35 from the districts to make up a total National Committee membership of 50:

New York District

PAUL ROBESON, JR.
LOUIS WEINSTOCK
MORT, from Buffalo
MIKE (last Name Unknown), city unknown



BILL ALBERTSON

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b7c

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NATE (Last Name Unknown)

BETTY GANNETT

ARTIE (Last Name Unknown)

Southern California

[REDACTED]

DOROTHY HEALEY

BEN DOBBS

Northern California

MICKEY (Last Name Unknown)

[REDACTED]

JUANITA (Last Name Unknown)

Illinois

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

[REDACTED]

FLO HALL

SAM KUSHNER

Michigan

CARL WINTER

[REDACTED]

Oregon

NORMAN (Last Name Unknown)

Indiana

MANNY BLUM

b6
b7C

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New Jersey

PAT TOOHEY

Maryland

JAKE (Last Name Unknown)

Wisconsin

C. MARTIN

FRED BLAIR

New England

HOME CHASE

South

C. JAMES

(First Name Unknown) FRAZIER

Ohio

(First Name Unknown) KRCHMAREK

Missouri

(First Name Unknown) MARTIN

Minnesota



Pennsylvania

TOM NABRIED

Washington State

BURT NELSON

b6
b7c

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WILLIAM Z. FOSTER was unanimously elected President Emeritus.

A nomination was made from the floor that [redacted] be placed on the ballot from New York. This was done.

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The formal convention closed prior to the announcement of the results from the Ballot Committee and these results are not as yet known.

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN then gave a report on Defense, in which she discussed the cases of the Smith Act victims presently in the penitentiary. Her report was adopted.

A summary of the convention was then given by GUS HALL and he expressed pleasure in the serious and responsible nature of the convention and the positive work that has been done by it.

A motion was made for the adoption of the Main Political Resolution which was done unanimously. At this point ballots were cast for the National Committee. The convention adjourned at this point.

Cover Sheet for Informant Report or Material
FD-306 (3-21-59)

Date received 12/14/59	Received from (name or symbol number) [redacted]	Received by SA [redacted]
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	Transcribed <u>12/21/59</u> by [redacted]	Date(s) of activity 12/10-13/59
	Authenticated by Informant <u>12/23/59</u>	

Brief description of activity or material

17th National Convention of CP - USA

File where original is located if not attached

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Remarks:

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>6 ccs. Chicago (RM)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (1 - 100-33741 CP ORGANIZATION) (1 - 100-24729 EMANUEL BLUM) (1 - 61-867 CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT) (1 - 100-20289 JAMES WEST) (1 - 100-12459 FLO HALL) (1 - 100-2748 SAM KUSHNER) <p>4 ccs. Los Angeles (RM)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (1 - 100-26044 CP ORGANIZATION) (1 - 100-52571 [redacted]) (1 - 100-4486 DOROTHY HEALY) (1 - 100-4663 BEN DOBBS) <p>25 ccs. New York (RM)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (1 cc. 100-80641 CP ORGAN.) (1 - 100-CP INTERNAT'L RELATION) (1 - 100-CP DOMESTIC ISSUES) (1 - 100-CP STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY) (1 - 100-CP NEGRO MATTERS) (1 - 100-23825 BEN DAVIS) (1 - 100-CP FARMER'S MATTERS) (1 - 100-THE WORKER) (1 - 100-CP WOMEN'S MATTERS) | <p>4 ccs. Cleveland (RM)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (1 - 100-17257 CP ORGAN.) (1 - 100-420 GUS HALL) (1 - 65-721 A. KRCHMAREK) (1 - 100-222 [redacted]) <p>3 ccs. Detroit (RM)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (1 - 100-2950 CP ORGAN.) (1 - 100-13420 CARL WINTER) (1 - 100-8482 [redacted]) <p>1 cc. Newark (RM)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (1 - 100-CP ORGANIZATION) |
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- (1 - 100-13483 BETTY GARNETT)
- 5 ccs. San Francisco (RM)
- (1 - 100-27747 CP ORGANIZATION)
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- (1 - NY 100-CP MEMBERSHIP)
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- (1 - 100-12883 [REDACTED])
- po [REDACTED]
- (1 - 100-14241 [REDACTED])
- possibly [REDACTED]

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- 1 - IP 100-11093 (CP ORGANIZATION)
- 1 - 100-9529 (E. BLUM)
- 1 - 100-10976 (CP INTERNAT'L RELATIONS)
- 1 - 100-11206 (CP POLITICAL ISSUES)
- 1 - 100-11167 (CP NEGRO MATTERS)
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- 1 - 100-11773 (COMINFIL MASS ORGAN.)
- 1 - 100-11079 (CP FARMERS MATTERS)
- 1 - 100-6195 (WM. L. PATTERSON)
- 1 - 100-11568 (CP WOMENS MATTERS)
- 1 - 100-10487 (SAM KUSHNER)
- 1 - 100-8588 LOUIS WEINSTOCK)
- 1 - 100-9766 (BEN DOBBS)
- 1 - 100-10371 (ANTHONY KRCHMAREK)
- 1 - IP 100-8633 (GUS HALL)
- 1 - 65-1238 (V. BENNETT)
- 1 - 100-11159 (CP DOMESTIC ISSUES)
- 1 - 100-8745 (CP STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)
- 1 - 100-8312 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-9312 (CP LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES)
- 1 - 97-31 (THE WORKER)
- 1 - 100-3474V (CP MEMBERSHIP)
- 1 - 100-4556 (IRVING POTASH)
- 1 - 100-8464 (BILL ALBERTSON)
- 1 - 100-6170 (FLO HALL)
- 1 - 100-10895 [REDACTED]

12/14/59

On 12/10-13/59, the Seventeenth National Convention of the Communist Party, USA, was held at the Theresa Hotel, 125th Street and 7th Avenue, New York City. The convention was called to order a little after 10:00 AM on 12/10/59, with Gus Hall acting as chairman. The first item on the program was the organization of the convention. Hall announced that the sessions would run from 10:00 AM to 1:30 PM, from 2:30 PM to 7:00 PM, and from 8:00 PM until 10:30 PM. Hall announced the committees that were going to be set up which are listed below:

Committee on Defense

Committee on the Negro Question
Committee on Party and Party Organization
Committee on the Party Constitution

Committee on Organized Labor

Committee on the 1960 Elections

Committee on Youth

Committee on Credentials

Committee on Latin America

Committee on Women

Committee on the Farm Problem

Committee on the Press

Presiding Committee

Hall stated that the committees would meet prior to the convening of the convention or after the convention had disbanded at night. He announced the agenda for the convention and the approximate times at which the convention would take up each item

on the agenda. The agenda is set forth below:

- (1) Trade Union Resolution
- (2) Negro Resolution
- (3) 1960 Elections Resolution
- (4) The Party and Party Organization Resolutions
- (5) The District Delegations Should Meet for Purpose of Nominating Members of the National Committee
- (6) Youth Report
- (7) Report on Mexican Americans and Cuba
- (8) Report on Women
- (9) Financial Report
- (10) Statement of Party Principles
- (11) Election of the National Committee

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During the organization of the convention and the discussion concerning this, Gus Hall recommended that the Presiding Committee determine the method of the election of the National Committeemen. This caused considerable dissent from the delegates attending the convention and a woman delegate from the state of Washington, the wife of [redacted] made the proposal that an election committee be elected by the convention for the purpose of discussing leadership and making recommendations for nominees to the National Committee. This was offered as an amendment to the National Committee recommendation that only the Presiding Committee would make the decisions at the convention. This amendment was not accepted by the convention.

As Hall had announced the Presiding Committee

he had specified various states which would have members on the Presiding Committee. This decision had been made prior to the convention. The fact that some states were left out from membership on the Presiding Committee caused considerable dissension among the delegates at the convention. This question was finally resolved by the passing of a motion that those states not represented on the announced membership of the Presiding Committee would each add one member to the Presiding Committee. Each state, therefore, had at least one member on the Presiding Committee.

Mimeographed sheets were passed out to the convention where each delegation from the various states put down their choices for each of the standing committees. Indiana decided that Emanuel Blum would serve on the Trade Union Resolution Committee and the Constitution Committee and that Bennett would serve on the Presiding Committee and the Party Organization Committee.

There was a different chairman elected by the Presiding Committee for each session of the National Convention. In other words, there would be three chairmen for each day that the National Convention met. The identities of all these individuals are not known but among them were Archie Brown and a crippled woman from New York City. On some occasions it was very difficult to tell who the actual chairman was inasmuch as there were numerous individuals on the speaker's platform at the convention and on several occasions when the convention would get out of hand when a woman was presiding, some man would step to the speaker's platform and attempt to restore order. The various chairmen of the convention were not necessarily members of the Presiding Committee. In practice, Gus Hall and a couple other members of the Presiding Committee would hold a caucus and state that so and so would be chairmen of the next session. The Presiding Committee would then give its approval to the selection by Hall and his associates.

After the organization of the convention, Gus Hall gave his keynote speech.

The keynote speech to the 17th National Convention by Gus Hall was entitled "Let Us Set Our Sights to the Future."

Hall pointed out that the 17th Convention was meeting during a period when events move with great speed. He stated that this convention was meeting in a much more favorable time than had the previous 16th Convention which had solved the two basic problems as to whether there was a place for the Communist Party in the United States and whether such a party under American conditions could be a Marxist-Leninist party. Despite the unfavorable conditions that surrounded the 16th National Convention, the elements of change were then already apparent in that the McCarthy era had already begun to be a thing of the past and the peace movement was beginning to make some headway.

The 17th Convention, however, was meeting at a time when the Socialist forces of the world had for the first time attained dominance and when world peace forces were a most powerful voice on the world scene. Hall pointed out that the era known as "The American Century" in which American capitalism was the dominant factor in the world had ended. The Socialist countries of the world which now embrace one-third of the world's people, now produce more than half of the world's total industrial output and are rapidly on their way to becoming the dominant economic force in the world. In addition to the industrial challenge of the Socialist countries, the world is now seeing the beginning of the end of the era of Imperialism. The economic revival of other Capitalist countries, has also served to bring about an end of "The American Century." Hall stated that in this new world the problem that "our people" face was that of finding the least painful transition from the "American Century" to the new era of peaceful co-existence.

One of the central features of the "American Century" had been the cold war. However, this concept is fading and one of the main factors causing its decline has been the peace policy of the Soviet Union. Hall mentioned the visit of Khrushchev to the United States

and the Camp David Agreement, as well as other agreements between the United States and the Soviet Union for matters of lesser importance. He pointed out that these factors do not necessarily mean an end to the cold war, but do represent a move in that direction and the extent of the move will be determined on the American people and the pressure they exert on the Eisenhower administration.

Hall discussed actions taken by the Communist Party in the past in their assertion of leadership for peace. He said the Communist Party today is also taking part in a campaign for peace but in a new atmosphere where the entire United States is discussing the banning of nuclear tests, total disarmament, and peaceful co-existence.

Hall stated that the sentiment for peace was general, but that the party's fight for peace must be developed in specific forms. He cited such examples as cutting down on armaments to relieve the burden of ever-mounting taxes. The concept that the war economy is necessary for full employment must be eliminated. There has been a body of thought that the Negro people could break down the bars of segregation existing against them only during a time of war or preparation for war. Hall stated that desire for peace was a general one and existed in vast organizations in the United States. Party members should work in these organizations to bring about an increased desire for peace.

On the domestic front, Hall cited the problems of automation in industry and the resulting unemployment, the growing financial instability of the United States and the chronic agricultural crisis. He also added to these problems the problems of the Negroes, Mexicans, and Puerto Ricans, in securing adequate housing, education, and health facilities.

Hall stated that in answer to the challenge in foreign matters, American monopoly capital was attempting to accommodate itself to present-day realities. However, on the home front monopoly capital was making a concentrated drive against labor as well as a drive against civil rights and civil liberties. However, to counteract the effect of the

monopoly capital drive there have been new forces appearing in the labor movement among the Negro people and among the youth to fight against this drive.

Hall, in discussing the 1960 elections pointed out that it was the task of the party to give leadership and guidance to the great variety of movements existing among the mass organizations of the United States. The peace issue must be given priority in the 1960 elections, but all the other needs of the people must be fought for as well, such as wages, jobs, labor's rights, civil rights and liberties. The Dixiecrats must be made a major target of attack and labor and the Negro people must attempt to elect additional representatives from within their ranks.

Hall, in discussing the Communist Party, pointed out that the party, during the past years has come through attack after attack battered, but intact. Hall criticized negativism and stated that the best antidote for this fault was activity. He stated that the party must struggle on two fronts. He stated that the party had never really grasped this Leninist concept, but that it had a tendency to swing from ultra-right to ultra-left. Hall stated that the period of the Communist political association had been a swing to the right but that in fighting this swing, the party had thrown out some good elements of the right. During the period of the left that followed, the party had hampered itself by insisting on too great an adherence to left ideas by mass organizations.

Hall stated that the party had now corrected swings to both the right and left and was now on more or less of an even keel. He insisted that the party move down the central course.

Hall stated that there were times when the party's work had not been anchored deeply enough to Marxism-Leninism and cited a specific example of a resolution on the Negro question which would be shortly placed before the convention. Hall concluded by stating that despite the planted stories in the press of a power struggle within the party, the party was united and the enemy would not be permitted to disrupt the convention.

The identity of the person presenting the draft declaration of Aims and Tasks to the 17th National Convention, is not known. This individual in his remarks stated that the Communist Party of the United States, was a party of the American Working Class and based its activity and outlook on the theories and teachings of Karl Marx and V. I. Lenin. The Communist Party is a vanguard party and its aim is socialism which will be established when the American Working Class becomes a leader of the Nation. The Communist Party, although small, has made many significant contributions to progress in the United States and has always sought to serve the best interests of the American people.

The speaker continued that peaceful co-existence was the most important issue of the present day. Monopoly capitalism is the source of the war danger and a socialist society has no incentive to war but generates peace. The cold war policy is a bankrupt policy and in order to realize the objective of peaceful co-existence, the American people will have to fight against the monopoly and imperialist circles which desire to keep the cold war alive.

World competition between capitalism and socialism is causing a present day crisis. Big business and reactionary circles attempt to picture competition from world socialism as a threat to the United States. Socialism is exceeding the American rate of economic growth by several times. Although the American people may possibly increase their rate of economic growth, such economic growth is not necessarily translated into social benefits under capitalism as it is under socialism. The American people must achieve a condition of full employment without war or the threat of war and a healthy stimulus can be given to the economy if military funds are diverted to peaceful uses. Unrestricted trade with all Nations can be a great benefit to the economic growth and stability of the United States.

Speaker related that the Communists see the battle to preserve and enrich democracy as necessary to peace and well-being. Limitations upon democracy in the United States have increased since World War II and democracy should be strengthened by greater participation of the people in representative government. By struggling to maintain democratic system, the American people can enrich democracy, preserve peace and open the way to progressive change.

The Communist Party, according to the speaker, advocates a democratic road to socialism and fights for the conditions that will lead to a peaceful socialist revolution. To achieve this American road to socialism, the most important thing is to build the unity of the labor movement so that it can emerge as an independent political force able to lead other groups. The People's Party, including labor and a coalition of anti-monopoly forces could possibly lead to the establishment of a people's government. The speaker then traced how socialism could develop in the United States from the nationalization of monopolies through agriculture, industry, trade and finance. Society in the government would be run by the working people. After the initial stage of socialism and all of the benefits that it would bring to the country, the country would then proceed to Communism, the higher stage of socialism.

This draft declaration was passed as written by the 17th National Convention.

The draft resolution on trade union problems was presented to the 17th National Convention by Irving Potash. After discussion, the convention accepted the draft resolution as written. Potash began his remarks by stating that a mounting strike movement is sweeping through America. He cited several examples of strikes in the United States including the recent steel strike. These strikes, the "automation strikes" as they are commonly called, are the mass fight back against the offensive launched by big business on the economic and political fronts. This offensive which has been in preparation for a long time includes a demand for additional anti-labor legislation. These struggles and the offensive of capital refutes the class collaboration theories of top AFL-CIO leaders. A current strike movement presents a challenge to Communists and Progressives as well as to the old guard trade union leaders. The history of the past 12 years reflects the development of the class collaborationist policies of the top labor leaders beginning with the labor leaders acceptance of the cold war policies. These labor leaders eventually accepted the Taft-Hartley Law, joined the McCarthy campaign and laid the labor movement open to the Landrum-Griffin Labor Law. These top leadership policies have weakened the influence and activity of the Progressives within the Labor movement as a whole.

Recently, however, there has developed a growing dissatisfaction in the ranks of the working people resulting from the failure of labor leadership to cope with the problems facing the workers. It has become increasingly evident to many of the workers that Labor Unions cannot progress as long as they continue to follow the policies personified by George Meany. Although these protests are scattered, the possibility exists that before long these protesting elements in the trade unions may be joined together which will influence the unions to a new and higher stage of struggle against monopoly interests.

Organized labor in order to defeat the attacks upon it, must launch a counter offensive. The fight for the short work week will enable the workers to successfully face the problem of growing automation in industry. The Labor Movement must lead the fight for peace and free trade with the Socialist world. It must lead in the fight for disarmament and the resulting release of funds for peaceful purposes will benefit all the people of this country.

Labor Unions must lead in the struggle for Negro rights and the campaign to organize the unorganized, especially in the south. Another major front in Labor's counter offensive is independent political action. Labor should have political action organizations that would be active the year around rather than just at election times. Labor must fight for the repeal of the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin Laws and to extend its fight against any new anti-labor legislation. Labor should recognize anti-Communism as a weapon directed against the working class, the trade unions and the American people generally.

The unions should help to advance the welfare and living standards of workers in all countries and to give all-out support to the efforts of the Latin American peoples to free themselves from the bondage of the American imperialists. It must be brought to the attention of the American workers that the Communists have no interests apart from those of the working class. The Party's ideas must be brought to the trade unionists and Communists must strive promote the understanding of Socialism among workers.

Claude Lightfoot presented to the convention a resolution on the Negro question in the United States. Lightfoot pointed out that almost 100 years ago the Negroes were emancipated from chattel slavery in the United States, but even today the Negroes are not free and equal citizens. The chief oppressor of the Negro people is the class of monopolists, and these monopolists are the primary beneficiaries of this oppression. Negro freedom can be secured only through struggle against the Dixiecrats, the monopolists, those who serve their interests. This struggle must be carried on by the Negro people themselves, the working class and the world anti-imperialist forces.

Lightfoot stated that the Negro people are uniting in their struggle, not in order to separate themselves from life in the United States, but to facilitate their struggle for integration as free and equal Americans. Communist Party must lend its support to the struggle of the Negro people in attempt to rally the working class of the American people to support this struggle. The burden of oppression rests primarily on the back of the Negro worker and to relieve this burden, he must wage an unrelenting fight against Jim Crow. The Communist Party will support the organization of a National Negro labor organization. The struggle for land on the part of the Negro farmer in the South is as much of a struggle against monopoly capital as is a struggle of the Negro union member. The fight for Negro freedom requires a determined crusade in the South to win the right to vote and to be voted for. A United Negro Electorate in the North can assist their Southern neighbors in accomplishing this.

Lightfoot cited the work of Negro organizations in securing freedom for the Negro people and commented that the NAACP deserved the support and attention of all Progressive forces. Communist Party must point out to the workers that anti-Negro policies are the policies of the ruling class and that the cause of Negro freedom serves the cause of world peace. Lightfoot asserted that the Communist Party is a vanguard of the working class and the Negro peoples freedom movements.

Lightfoot stated that in 1930, the Communist Party had adopted the principle of self-determination for the Negroes in the United States which involved the formation of a Negro nation in the deep South. However, this theory of self-determination has now been discarded and the policies of the Communist Party call for the securing to the Negro people equal economic, political and social status with all other Americans.

Lightfoot's resolution was a cause for considerable discussion by the convention. The resolution was accepted by the convention with the exception of that part dealing with self-determination for the Negro people. The dissenting opinion expressed at the convention was that the question of self-determination should be left open for the Negro people themselves to decide at some later date. These Negro people would include all Negroes, not only the Negroes in the party.

The Resolution on the Communist Party was presented to the 17th National Convention. This may have been given by Mickey Lima. The resolution was passed as presented with the exception of one amendment to page 2, paragraph 5 in its printed form which called for the adding of a sentence "The Party must re-examine the struggle for its legality."

The Resolution on the Communist Party pointed out that the party was in a period of an attack by the monopolists directed against the vast majority of the American people, but at the same time the growing forces for peace and progress were having an increasing impact on the U.S. During the recent period, the party had successfully fought and defeated those would have changed the makeup of the party. The party is beginning to play a constructive role in some of the problems facing the people today. However, the problems of rebuilding the party and of establishing broader united front relations still remain unsolved. The American people will not submit to the attack by the monopolists and imperialists and will join the movement toward peace. The Communist Party, therefore, must bring its science and indispensable role to this people's movement.

However, there are certain weaknesses in the party's work which will hamper this movement, among these being, a weakness of the party leadership on a national and district level. Party leadership has been isolated from party membership and the mass movement and it is essential that the leadership at all levels improve its style of work. The party must effect an improvement in the way in which it fulfills its vanguard role. The party in order to effectively carry out its mass political line, must master the policy of the United front. It must join in the struggles of the youth, the national groups, and the international working classes. The party's ideological content of its mass work must be improved and revisionism must be exposed. The party must demonstrate anew the superiority of socialism over capitalism and the promise which socialism holds for happy and peaceful life for humanity. The party must

expand its advocacy of socialism and explain how socialism can bring about a better world far beyond the dreams of any American. In this new socialist society there will be ample opportunity for all Americans, Negro or White under a government led by the working class. The resolution concluded by stating that the decade of the sixties is a period in which the party and its influence can grow and in which it will be the vanguard of the struggles of the American people for a socialist America.

The Draft Resolution on Party Organization had been written by the committee on party and party organization: [redacted] a member of this committee, had brought into the committee, a draft which he had written prior to the meeting of the convention. This was re-written by the committee, taking into consideration that which West had written prior to the convention. The Draft Resolution on Party Organization was presented to the convention by Mickey Lima and was accepted by the convention with no changes. Lima, in his remarks stated that the party was consolidating its ranks on the basis of the universally valid principles of Marxism-Leninism as applied to the specific conditions of American life. The correct mass policies of the 17th Convention gives the party the first essential under the new conditions existing in the United States for the renewed development of the CP, USA. The correct application and fulfillment of the party's mass policies could cause the new small CP to become almost overnight, a large and influential force in the life of the United States.

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Lima then cited a number of weaknesses of the party such as a temporary loss of the Daily Worker and the low circulation of The Worker. He cited the weakness of organizational work in the party as well as a great unevenness of the participation in the party's work from district to district. He stated that it was necessary that the party solve these and other problems which he mentioned in the shortest possible time.

Lima stated that the key task before the entire party right down to the last member was to master the theory and practice of the united front policy. Individual members, clubs and sections must be given assistance in how to work in the united front. Clubs and sections must exchange experiences and evaluate their activities to develop additional know-how. Comrades in unions and mass organizations must be given assistance in how to advance party policies and how to build left groupings in their organizations. He stated that too great a regard for security left over from the McCarthy period which hampered the party in its development of the united front, must be overcome.

Lima called for the renewal of left initiative and called for strengthening of the party for its mass tasks. He called for the development of collective work involving party discipline wherein each member would be responsible to and subordinated to the collective. However, the individual party members must be urged to function on their own initiative as well. He pointed out that there had been improvement in collective work during the past two years, but that there was still considerable room for improvement. He stated that individual leaders were not held sufficiently responsible to the collective and that the leadership especially nationally, was not sufficiently close to the membership. National leadership failed to give adequate guidance to the party's work. The leadership must be more readily available and Lima urged that every party leader should not only be a member of a club but also attend meetings and participate in the club's activities as much as possible. Every party leader should select and help develop newer and younger cadre.

Lima continued that consideration should be given to the establishment of regional organizations such as already existed in the southern states. Recruiting as a systematic activity of the party must be re-established and more attention must be paid to the Marxist press. Lima concluded by stating that the CP, USA armed with the correct mass policies, will help to advance the best national interests of the US, in a world of peace.

Ben Davis then presented to the 17th National Convention a resolution on the 1960 elections, as well as an introduction to his remarks. Both of these were passed by the convention as presented by Davis.

Davis pointed out that the recent Krushchev visit to the United States had relaxed international tensions, but at the same time the 86th Congress' actions had constituted a major reactionary offensive. He stated that the lesson offered by the 86th Congress was clear in that to the extent that labor and the Negro peoples' movement further advances independent political action, to that extent will they win their demands against the monopolists. Davis pointed out that by virtue of the dominance of big business over the two major political parties, the Communist Party advocated the necessity of a new farmer-labor party. This party will not be a minority party, but one which can win the majority. This new party which will be based on labor, the farmers and the Negro people, cannot, however, take the form of an "independent socialist party" since the organization of such parties serves to isolate the left from the masses of labor and the Negro people. The 1960 elections offer the party and other left and Progressive forces a great opportunity to strengthen their own forces and to identify themselves more closely with the mass movements stirring within the U. S.

Davis had ten points which contained the program for the Communist Party in the 1960 elections. These points included such items as the outlawing of nuclear war, total disarmament, abolition of the HCUA and the Senate Internal Security Committee, repealing the Smith and McCarran Acts and establishment of the full legality of the Communist Party. Other points mentioned by Davis were full rights for the Negro people, repeal of the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin Laws, price supports for small farmers, tax relief for small businesses, an American Youth Act, public ownership of all atomic energy, railroad and public utilities, the halting of monopoly profiteering and legislation to benefit the health, education, cultural and housing needs of the people.

The next report was given concerning the work of the constitution committee. The identity of the person giving this report is not known. The constitution committee had considered certain amendments to the constitution of the Communist Party and set forth several changes in the constitution. The convention gave this report considerable discussion but eventually was passed as written.

One of the amendments under the purposes of the Communist Party consisted in adding two purposes that the Communist Party was seeking to attain a peaceful world and to attain full equality for the Negro people. Another amendment concerned the fact that members who had been dropped for being arrears on their dues could apply for re-admission within six months. Another amendment concerned the method of electing the National Committee and the filling of vacancies on the National Committee. Another amendment deleted the portion of the constitution of Article 6 which gave Party members the right to dissent from decisions which had been made. Other amendments concerning disciplinary procedures and appeals.

William L. Patterson presented a resolution on "The Worker" and passed out mimeographed sheets, showing the status of the "Worker" by states. Patterson asked the convention to propose to the incoming National Committee that a campaign be organized for the support of the "Worker" in the amount of \$75,000 to run from January 13, 1960 to May 1, 1960. He called for raising the circulation of the paper to \$20,000 by the end of 1960. Patterson pointed out that the "Worker" was not the official voice of the Communist Party, but declared that the building of the "Worker" was indispensable to the building of the Communist Party.

This resolution as presented by Patterson was accepted by the convention.

The resolution was then presented to the convention on the work and status of women. The individual presenting this is not known. This report cited the unorganized condition of the working women and the pay differential that existed between men and women. It further pointed out that the Negro, Puerto Rican, and Mexican-American women were subjected to even greater pay differentials. The resolution called for the convention to set up a National Womens Commission as well as a program to understand and popularize the role of women under socialism.

Pat Toohy then presented a resolution on Puerto Rican work in the United States, which resolution was passed by the convention. The resolution cited the poor condition of Puerto Ricans, both in Puerto Rico and in the United States. It asked the incoming National Committee to make a thorough study of the Puerto Rican situation, to establish a special commission on Puerto Rican work and called for the freedom of all Puerto Rican political prisoners in Federal Prisons.

A farm resolution was presented by an unknown individual and accepted by the convention. This resolution cited statistics showing that the small and middle sized farmers were being eliminated by the professional farmers. It called for the organization of farm workers and the discouragement of allout production by big farmers. It called for the distribution of surplus foods, both in United States and world wide. It asked the National Executive Committee to establish a farm commission as well as regional farm commissions.

A resolution on Cuba was presented to the convention, possibly by Pat Toohy. The Cuban resolution reviewed the revolution in Cuba and the fact that imperialistic forces were trying to defeat the revolution. It cited the advances made by the new Cuban government in land reform and trade union democracy. It pointed out that the imperialists in the United States who seek to defeat the revolution in Cuba are the same monopolist in the United States who exploit American labor. The resolution called for organizing support for the Cuban people and to combat reactionary moves which would work against Cuba as a vacation spot and as a source of trade.

The Appeals Committee of the 17th National Convention had cases which it presented to the convention. There was a case in New York State of an individual who had been chairman of an ultra-left group. He had been expelled from the party but had subsequently made an appeal to the National Convention. The Convention upheld the action of the Appeals Committee which had supported the action of the New York State Organization in expelling this individual from the party. Another case was presented from New Jersey of an elderly man who wanted to meet with a committee of party members to discuss coming back into the party. The local organization in New Jersey had refused to discuss this matter with the old man who had been a former party member. The Convention repealed the action of the local organization and the record against the old man was deleted.

The head of the Communist Party in Puerto Rico had flown Puerto Rico to New York to attend the convention. Immediately after arriving at the Airport in New York, he had been hit by a truck and forced to go to a hospital. The convention sent a delegation to the hospital to visit him. During the convention, this man came to the convention in a wheelchair and made a short speech.

During the convention, Gus Hall made an announcement on several occasions that in his opinion the party nationally could not go much longer than a year without holding another convention. He felt that it would be necessary to hold another convention within the next twelve months because of the great differences that existed in the party.

An unrecalled individual made a report at the convention on party membership in which it was stated that the party nationally had 6,000 actual members. It was reported that there were another 4,000 individuals that could not join the party for various reasons such as trade union membership which would make a total party membership of about 10,000 individuals.

The exact days on which each of the various reports and resolutions as set forth above were given cannot be broken down, due to the confusion that existed in the convention. The selection of nominees to the National Committee on both the state and general lists was made in the Presiding Committee on Saturday, 12/12/59, and went to the National Convention late on this day. Sunday, 12/13/59, the last day of the convention, was taken up for the most part by elections and discussion of the nominees for the National Committee. This discussion was sandwiched in between the reports on the farm problem, women and youth.

On 12/13/59, during the discussion of the makeup of the National Committee, Gus Hall indicated that the National Committee which was finally decided to number sixty individuals, would elect another National Committee from the sixty. The sixty individuals would probably meet only twice a year and these meetings would last from four days to a week. The smaller National Committee would then elect an executive board which would meet every six weeks or so as well as a National Executive Committee which would meet more often. The National Executive Committee

would consist of five individuals. From Hall's remarks, it appeared that provisions would be made whereby the National Committeemen, for instance from the midwest, could meet to discuss problems which concerned only the midwest.

On 12/13/59, the names of the following individuals were announced as being candidates for election to the National Committee from the various states. The various state delegations had made their own nominations in state caucus. However, the Presiding Committee had ruled that further nominations could be made either in the Presiding Committee or on the floor of the convention. The Presiding Committee had ruled that any state could nominate state delegates from any other state and that the individuals did not necessarily have to be at the convention. Each state delegation in caucus could nominate more than the number actually allocated to the state but should show preference for the number of nominees actually allocated to each state.

The following allocations were made to each state regarding nominees for the National Committee:

New York	8
Southern California	3
Northern California	3
Illinois	4
Michigan	2
Ohio	2
New England	1
Eastern Pennsylvania	1
New Jersey	1
Maryland	2
Wisconsin	1
Indiana	1
Minnesota	1
The South	2
Oregon	1
Washington	1
Kansas-Missouri	1

After this had been announced in the convention, there were some objections and Maryland was reduced to one and the South was increased to three.

The original announcement of the makeup of the National Convention by Hall had been that there would be thirty-five members to be nominated by the states and fifteen individuals whose names would be taken from a general or national list. Hall and some of his associates apparently discovered that fifteen names on the national list would not allow enough of the party professionals to be elected and with the consent of the convention the general list was increased to twenty-five, making a split of 35-25 for a national committee of sixteen individuals.

The names set forth below are of those individuals whose names were mentioned on the state list. This list is not complete.

New York - Louis Weinstock, Mort (LNU), Mike (LNU), [redacted] Bill Albertson, two other individuals names not recalled who were on the preferred list. In addition the names of Betty Garnett, Artie (LNU) and others were mentioned.

Southern California - [redacted] Dorothy Healy, Ben Dobbs.

Northern California - Mickie Lima, Roscoe (LNU), Juanita (LNU).

Illinois - Claude Lightfoot, [redacted] Flo Hall, Sam Kushner.

Michigan - Carl Winter, [redacted]

Ohio - Anthony Krchmarek, [redacted]

The South - T. Robinson, S. Frazer, C. James - not true names.

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New England - H. Chase.

New Jersey - Tony (LNU).

Maryland - Jake (LNU).

Indiana - Emanuel Blum.

Missouri - Martin (not known whether first
or last name)

Wisconsin - Fred Blair.

Minnesota -

Eastern Pennsylvania - Tom Naveried

Washington - Burt Nelson.

Oregon - (FNU) Holland.

There were other nominations made to this
list from the convention floor but most of these
individuals declined.

A general list or national list was then
announced which was based upon a recommendation of a
sub-committee of the Presiding Committee. These are
set forth below:

Eugene Dennis

Gus Hall

James Jackson

Hy Lumer

Ben Davis

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn

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Jack Stachel
Irving Potash
Phil Bart
Clarence Hathaway
Herbert Aptheker
J. Allen
Jesus Colon
Al Richmond
H. Allison
Pettis Perry
Arnold Johnson
Geraldine Lightfoot
Danny (LNU) from Chicago
Danny (LNU) from Philadelphia
Eric Burt
G. Myers
William Patterson
Si Gerson

The above individuals and one other name which cannot be recalled were on the preferred national list of nominees for the National Committee. Other names as set forth below were also nominated from the convention floor:

Dell (LNU) from Washington

[redacted] from California

Bill (LNU) from the south

Mollie West

[redacted]

George Morris

Milford S. from Washington

Nate from Chicago

Vaud Bennett from Indiana

Millie (LNU) from New York

(FNU) Binaski from New York

Minnie (LNU) from New York

[redacted] declined the nomination

The elections were held during the latter part of Sunday, 12/13/59, and the outcome of these elections is not known.

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Cover Sheet for Informant Report or Material
FD-306 (3-21-58)

Date received 12/14/59	Received from (name or symbol number) [redacted]	Received by SA [redacted]
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Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)
 in person by telephone by mail orally recording device written by Informant

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If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Dictated 12/15/59 to _____

Transcribed 12/21/59 by [redacted]

Authenticated by Informant 12/23/59

Date of Report
12/14/59

Date(s) of activity
12/10-13/59

Brief description of activity or material

Activities of Committee on Party and
Party Organization at 17th National
CP Convention

File where original is located if not attached
[redacted]

Remarks:

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>2 ccs. Chicago (RM)
 (1 - 100-33741 CP ORGANIZATION)
 (1 - 100-20289 [redacted])</p> <p>2 ccs. Detroit (RM)
 (1 - 100-2050 CP ORGANIZATION)
 (1 - 100-8482 [redacted])</p> <p>2 ccs. Minneapolis (RM)
 (1 - 100-1878-P CP ORGANIZATION)
 (1 - 100-371 [redacted])</p> <p>⑦ ccs. New York (RM)
 (1 - 100-80641 CP ORGANIZATION)
 (1 - 100-UNSUB, w/female possibly [redacted])
 (1 - 100-UNSUB w/male)
 (1 - 100-UNSUB w/female possibly MILLIE)
 (1 - 100-CP MEMBERSHIP)
 (1 - 100-CP STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)
 (1 - 100-CP FACTIONALISM)</p> <p>2 ccs. San Francisco (RM)
 (1 - 100-27747 CP ORGANIZATION)
 (1 - 65-1242 MICKEY LIMA)</p> | <p>2 ccs. Seattle (RM)
 (1 - 100-CP ORGANIZATION)
 (1 - 100-12883 MILFORD S. possibly SUTHERLAND)</p> <p>1 - IP 100-11093 (CP ORGANIZATION)</p> <p>1 - 65-1238 (VAUD BENNETT)</p> <p>1 - 100-9529 (EMANUEL BLIM)</p> <p>1 - 100-8312 [redacted]</p> <p>1 - 100-8745 (CP STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)</p> <p>1 - 100-3474V (CP MEMBERSHIP)</p> <p>1 - 100-11138 (CP FACTIONAL-ISM)</p> |
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12/14/59

During the period 12/10-13/59, the 17th National Convention of the Communist Party, USA, was held at the Theresa Hotel, 125th Street and 7th Avenue, New York City. Among the committees set up this convention was the committee on Party and Party organization. Those individuals who were members of this committee are set forth below:

Tommy Dennis of Michigan

Mickey Lima from Northern California

[redacted] from Chicago, Illinois

White female from New York City, age 45, crippled, walked with cane, possibly [redacted]

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Male white, organizer for Northern New York, in his 30s, 5'11", 180 lbs., light brown hair, light complexion

[redacted] from Minnesota

Vaud Bennett from Indiana

Milford S. from the State of Washington

White female from New York, possibly Millie

Mickey Lima was Chairman of this committee. The purpose of this committee was to discuss such things as the leadership roll in the Party, the establishment of closer ties with mass work, implementation of the Party program by carrying organization to a lower level and criticism of national leadership.

[redacted] and Mickey Lima brought a draft of a resolution to the committee concerning the Party and Party organization and the committee took this draft and by deleting certain passages and adding others made a final draft which was presented to the National Convention by Mickey Lima. This resolution was one of the few main reports accepted by the convention without change. An ovation was given to Lima upon the conclusion of his presentation of the report in the National Convention.

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Several sessions of this committee were held but not all members were present at all sessions. One committee session met after the regular convention session until about 1:30 in the morning and another session met in the morning prior to the convening of the convention. Mort from New York, Vaud Bennett from Indiana, the woman from New York and Milford S. were the main speakers at the committee sessions.

Some of the discussion in the committee concerned the fact that the National Leadership of the Party was not sufficiently close to the masses and with the fast moving events of the day to be able to issue the correct line from current events for use by Party members. The Landrum-Griffin Bill was specifically mentioned in that this labor bill had been passed by Congress and the National Committee never had issued a statement setting forth the Party line on this labor bill. The committee emphasized that there was a need for additional concentration by the Party on industrialized areas. It recommended to the convention that there be a 10% increase in Party membership by May Day 1960. Throughout the entire committee discussions there was no violent disagreement.

SAC, NEW YORK (97-169)

1/26/60

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On 1/11/60, [redacted] advised that during a discussion at CP Headquarters, NYC, JACK STACHEL commented, "In New York the highest was 30,000...in New York now the paper is 4,000 and membership is 2,000...how did we have a circulation of 6,000 in 1941 and 1942...when 'The Worker' had its maximum circulation when we were fighting for the masses...at one time we had 42,000...we had over 25,000 home delivery...the other 15,000 was...at that time GIL realized we were out-delivering ourselves and he decided to let the government work for us and converted 40%...we had with the home delivery contact with the masses...on newsstands we have let's say around 1,000 that's Manhattan...so I estimate maybe another 50...I put out the slogan 5 for 1 and 1 for 5, that's 5 subs for every member and one recruit for every 5 readers...In our area with 50 or 60 Party members, you have a left wing grouping working for us...later maybe we can try to get subscriptions from that..."

The informant was unable to obtain further details.

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BY [redacted] ON 4/24/75

- 1-New York (100-80638) (CP, USA - Membership) (415)
- 1-New York (97-169)

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